NOTES

ON THE

WEST INDIES.

VOL. II.

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NOTES

ON THE

WEST INDIES:

WRITTEN DURING THE

EXPEDITION UNDER THE COMMAND

OF THE LATE

GENERAL SIR RALPH ABERCROMBY:

INCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON

THE ISLAND OF BARBADOES,

AND THE SETTLEMENTS CAPTURED BY THE BRITISH TROOPS, UPON

THE COAST OF GUIANA:

LIKEWISE REMARKS RELATING TO THE

CREOLES AND SLAVES OF THE WESTERN COLONIES, AND

THE INDIANS OF SOUTH AMERICA:

WITH OCCASIONAL HINTS, REGARDING

The Seasoning, or Yellow Fever

OF HOT CLIMATES.

BY GEORGE PINCKARD, M. D.

OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS,

DEPUTY INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF HOSPITALS TO HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES,

AND PHYSICIAN TO THE BLOOMSBURY DISPENSARY.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

It is a ſtrange thing that in ſea-voyages, where there is nothing to be ſeene, but ſky and ſea, men ſhould make diaries; but in land trauaile, wherin ſo much is to bee obſerued, for the moſt part they omit it; as if chance were fitter to be regiſtred than obſeruation.

LORD VERULAM.

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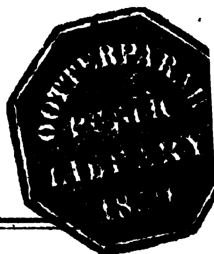
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LETTER I.

Author and his friends wait for General Whyte, and the Cork convoy. Friendly altercation between the Author and his comrades. Cork Fleet driven back to Cove. The Hindostan and Abergavenny arrive from Ireland. The Mary Isabella, from England, after a passage of fifteen weeks. Author and his comrades ordered upon duty. Troops arrive unhealthy. Two-deck ships bad transports. State of negroes in slave ships contrasted with soldiers in transports. Degree of heat March 23d. Remarks upon a French paper, complaining of the professional practice of the British medical officers in St. Domingo.

Barbadoes, March.

I SHOULD have mentioned to you in my last letter, that from joining in the general greetings on the glad occasion of Sir R. Abercromby's long-expected arrival, and hoping to learn that we were immediately to proceed to St. Domingo, we lost no time in waiting upon the commander in chief, but went to pay our respects to him the day after he reached Barba-

does. I am ſorry, however, to tell you, that we are ſtill likely to be detained for ſome time in this Iſland, it being intended that we ſhould wait the arrival of General Whyte, and the Cork diviſion, and all proceed to St. Domingo under the ſame convoy.

I am happy to be able to announce to you that the ills of climate have, hitherto, ſcarcely reached me; but my friends Cleghorn and Maſter, I am ſorry to remark, are greater ſufferers than myſelf. All of us are annoyed by the prickly heat, and thoſe tormenting inſects the muſquitoes; but, in Cleghorn, the prickly heat is ſo violent, as to become quite a ſore eruption; and, on the legs of Maſter, the bites of muſquitoes have produced very troubleſome ulcers: alſo, in addition to theſe evils, both of my friends are frequently troubled with epiſtaxis *; with which I have not been once attacked.

Regardleſs that they are more diſturbed by the effects of climate than I am, they often amuſe themſelves at my continuing to obſerve an abſtemious diet, and to perſevere in my

* Bleeding from the noſe.

long eſtabliſhed habit of drinking water; and are even bold enough to propoſe that we ſhould form a tontine, with the benefit of ſurvivorſhip. "Let us," ſay they, "enter into an engagement that he who lives longeſt ſhall be entitled to the clothes, arms, baggage, and horſes of thoſe who may chance to die, previous to our return to England."—To this I tell them, I can ſee only one objection, viz. that it would encumber me with more red coats, and baggage, than I ſhould know what to do with. They, laughing, aſſure me that I need have no ſuch apprehenſion, and kindly promiſe—the one to preſerve my ſword, the other my piſtols as "a taliſman, in memory of a friend, who ſought his death - - - - *by drinking water!*"—"Water," continue they, "will render you the moſt palatable to the hungry devourer of theſe regions, and, of courſe, *you* will be his earlieſt prey."—"On the contrary, my friends," I reply, "you lay a bait for this ravenous deſtroyer, by preparing for him inviting juices, enriched with wine, and high eſſenced diſhes; for, like yourſelves, he loves to indulge, and prefers wine and high flavored viands, to a more plain and ſimple diet—hence, inſtead of your dividing my ſword and

piſtols, the probability is that I ſhall return to England trebly armed."

Were it fit to take up this ſubject profeſſionally, or to trouble you with medical diſcuſſions, I might ſhew ſome powerful reaſons why I have a better chance of again ſeeing England, than either of my humorous and pleaſant aſſociates. Our comrade, Weir, ſmiles at our calculations, and being in a manner ſecure, from having undergone nine years ſeaſoning at Jamaica, feels that he may have to return alone, and report the fate of us all.

Endleſs, ſurely, are to be the vexations and diſappointments attending this expedition! In every attempt, every branch of it would ſeem deſtined to meet with delay and diſaſter. In the papers, received by the laſt packet, we read that the Cork fleet, which we had flattered ourſelves was within a few leagues of Barbadoes, has put back into Cove harbour. In this we have great and ſevere diſappointment. It was the diviſion with which we were to proceed to our place of deſtination, and from the ſhips which have already ar-

rived reporting so favorably of the voyage, and the weather, it is a mortification very unexpected. The Clarendon, the Charlotte, the Singleton and others having made an uncommonly quick passage, we had no suspicion but the winds must have been favorable for the whole convoy; and, making allowances for the delay of dull sailing vessels, felt assured that they must arrive in the course of a few days; hence the disappointment we experience is even greater than it was from hearing of the return of our own convoy under Admiral Christian.

Single ships, of each of the two fleets, still continue to arrive. The Hindostan and Abergavenny East Indiamen, and several transports have joined from Cork; and on the 25th, came in the Mary Isabella of the Portsmouth division. She sailed with us on the 9th of December, and has been a week longer on the voyage than the unfortunate General Cuyler, but precisely the same time at sea, having put into Lisbon disabled, and remained there three weeks, which reduces the period to twelve weeks, the exact time the General Cuyler was beating about upon the ocean.

It now remains to me to inform you that we have to bid adieu to our rural excurſions, and maroon-like wanderings, about the pleaſant iſland of Barbadoes: for it is ordered that the phyſicians of the St. Domingo ſtaff ſhall conſider themſelves on duty, at the general hoſpital at St. Anne's Hill; and it has fallen to my lot to be the firſt employed. We have alſo the further duty of inſpecting the troops of the different ſhips of the Cork diviſion as they come into harbour, in order to report their ſtate of health, or diſeaſe. Luckily our reſidence, on board the Lord Sheffield, happens to be ſingularly convenient for the performance of theſe duties, and hence we hope to be able ſtill to continue our ſocial meſs; and to live in the cool breeze, afloat, inſtead of being crowded in the cloſe and heated town.

Being in the bay, we readily ſee every ſhip as it comes in, and can, conveniently, take off a boat to proceed upon our viſit of inſpection without delay: and we are not leſs happily placed for the hoſpital, being able to reach it in a boat, much quicker than we could walk to it from the town.

Sickneſs, I'am ſorry to remark, is already appearing among us. The hoſpitals are full, and ſome of the troops are obliged to quit their barracks, in order that theſe may, alſo, be converted into ſick wards. But do not imagine that we are already ſuffering from diſeaſe of climate. It is not ſo. The malady, which now exiſts, has been brought with the troops. It is the common hoſpital or ſhip fever—is the conſequence of the ſoldiers being long detained in crowded ſhips, and has nothing to do with *La Maladie du Pays*.

The ſhips of the Cork diviſion, notwithſtanding their quick paſſage, arrive in a very unhealthy ſtate, but in theſe the troops muſt have been ſickly when they embarked, or before they left the harbour; and, from the ſpecimen we have in the Abergavenny and Hindoſtan, we have nothing favorable to expect from the ſeeming accommodation of employing theſe large veſſels as troop ſhips. In none of the tranſports have we, yet, found the men more unhealthy: but, from the habits of cleanlineſs, commonly obſerved on board the Eaſt India ſhips, and, more eſpecially, from that excellent officer General

Whitelock, and ſeveral other active and intelligent military officers being on board, no ſuſpicion can be entertained of any of the rules of cleanlineſs or regularity having been neglected among the troops.

To me it has always appeared unwiſe to employ any ſhip as a tranſport, in which the men are obliged to ſleep upon two different decks, both crowded, and the one below the other; and, from preſent appearances, this expedition promiſes to confirm the opinion.

Where from three hundred to five hundred men, in addition to the ſhip's company, have to make a paſſage in the ſame veſſel, they cannot but be crowded; and if the weather ſhould chance to be bad, it will be impoſſible to have the lower deck kept ſo clean, and well ventilated, as is requiſite; and hence from many of the ſoldiers becoming ſick; from their taking food in their ſleeping births; and crowding themſelves with knapſacks, blankets, and other baggage; and from multitudes breathing together, in a cloſe and confined place; the air muſt, very quickly, be

rendered unwholeſome, and diſeaſe will, neceſſarily, be generated. Where there are two decks it is alſo more difficult to keep the men ſufficiently expoſed to the open atmoſphere, as the idle and diſobedient can more eaſily conceal themſelves, and remain below throughout the day.

The difference, in point of health, is peculiarly ſtriking between the troops conveyed in tranſports from England, and the ſlaves brought in the Guinea ſhips from Africa. Perhaps, from the preſent mode of conducting the ſlave ſhips, might be derived ſome uſeful hints for the management of our tranſports. The ſlaves are much more crowded than the ſoldiers, yet far more healthy. It becomes us therefore to aſcertain the cauſe of this, and I much ſuſpect that it will be found in the difference of treatment and accommodation. According to the preſent method of conducting them, I might venture it as an opinion that a Guinea ſhip would carry—with leſs danger of diſeaſe being generated among them—a cargo of ſlaves more than thrice as numerous as a tranſport would carry of ſoldiers.

I took occaſion to note to you in a former letter that the nakedneſs of the ſlaves was perhaps their greateſt ſecurity againſt diſeaſe: but in addition to their being without clothes, they are compelled to remain conſtantly upon deck in the day-time; and are encouraged to exerciſe and amuſement: their ſleeping-places are completely waſhed out as ſoon as they quit them; and no ſpecies of baggage, nor clothing—not a bundle, nor any article of bedding—not even a ſingle blanket, nor a ſheet, nor any kind of thing that can create filth, or collect impurities is admitted. Ventilation and waſhing are ſtrictly obſerved, and the ſlaves are encouraged, or compelled to cleanlineſs of perſon: and, together with theſe means, perhaps their ſimple diet of vegetables and water may greatly contribute, by diminiſhing the prediſpoſition, and leſſening the ſuſceptibility of diſeaſe.

Hence it would ſeem, that cleanlineſs, exerciſe, cheerfulneſs, a ſimple diet, and free expoſure to the atmoſphere are the great preventives of ſickneſs—and that by a ſtrict obſervance of theſe means the ſlaves make the voyage, from Africa to the Weſt Indies,

without engendering infectious maladies, although infinitely more crowded, than troops on board even the most confined transport.

Many causes conspire to prevent these grand objects from being equally attained by the soldiers; but it is a desideratum, even, to approach them. Were I to enter into a detail of all that might be offered upon this very important subject, instead of a letter I should write you a volume. The difference of climate, of habit, of education, and of diet would all require to be taken into the discussion; but it were foreign to our present purpose to engage in so extensive an inquiry. I may, therefore, content myself with adding that, both in regard to transports, and barracks, the service would reap the most essential benefit, were the rules, which might be prescribed by its medical officers, strictly enjoined; and policy, no less than humanity would seem to demand it.

I must not forget to note to you, that the 23d instant was the hottest day we have felt, since our arrival between the tropics. In

the morning the thermometer ſtood at 73, and the weather was pleaſantly cool, but it afterwards grew very cloſe, and the little air that was ſtirring, coming from the ſouth, we all felt the temperature much increaſed, and every one complained of exceſſive heat. We were on ſhore during the morning, but having left our thermometers in the ſhip, had not the opportunity of obſerving the degree of heat, either in the town, or the bay: from our feelings, compared with the preceding days, we judge it to have been at leaſt 86.

Although it was unuſually hot and oppreſſive in Bridge Town, we perceived a ſtrong difference, indeed found a tolerable breeze, in the more elevated part of the country. We took our dinner at Dr. Hinde's, which I before mentioned to you is ſome miles from the town, and ſo far from feeling the heat oppreſſive, there, we were not at all incommoded by it. Thirteen perſons ſat down to table, and I remarked that not one of the party had occaſion to uſe his handkerchief, in a way that might have ſhocked the delicacy of a Cheſterfield.

What would you think were I to conclude my letter by noting to you a mark of great *modesty* in a Frenchman? Perhaps you will ſay it is a rare inſtance; or that you never met with—never heard of ſuch a thing! If ſo, call it aſſurance, impudence, or what you like; and I almoſt promiſe to forgive you!

A paper, ſaid to be of high importance, has been preſented for our conſideration. It was ſent from St. Domingo to England: and lo! what ſhould this important communication prove to be, but a direct and indiſcriminate attack upon the practice of all the Britiſh medical officers who have, hitherto, been employed with the troops in St. Domingo, written by a French practitioner of the iſland; who, without knowing what means had been uſed, in the treatment of diſeaſe, illiberally condemns the whole practice, arrogantly ſetting forth his own as more wiſe and more beneficial. Need I have told you that the *modeſt* author is a Frenchman? We know not the name of this would-be Hippocrates: but as we have found his ſtatements to be not ſimply inaccurate, but wholly devoid of truth, I think you will allow that we have been merciful towards

him, in only remarking that the very curious paper laid before us, muſt have been "the production of ſome prejudiced individual, who had not troubled himſelf to obtain any knowledge whatever, of the practice which, probably from *motives of intereſt*, he had preſumed to condemn."

LETTER II.

Author apprehensive of fatiguing his friend with tales of delay and disappointment. A fleet of merchantmen arrives at Barbadoes after a short passage. The heavens and the seas exclusively opposed to the convoys of the expedition. Supply of provisions and stock at Barbadoes. Single ships of the convoys still continue to arrive. George and Bridget reaches Carlisle Bay. This ship singularly the seat of incident and disaster. Character of Mac—. His adventures and vexations concerning a cow.

Barbadoes, March 30.

I FEAR you will be tired of reading tales of disappointment and uncertainty, which, as I before observed, would seem to know no end. On the morning of the 28th inst. we saw an ensign hoisted at the fort, and heard three guns fired; which constitute the signal of alarm implying a strange fleet to be in sight. It was, immediately, concluded that it was the Cork convoy, and its arrival was readily explained, by supposing it to have put to sea again, quickly after its return to harbour, and to have availed itself of the favorable wind which had

already brought to us ſo many ſingle ſhips of that diviſion. Dr. Cleghorn and myſelf happened to be on our way to the hoſpital, and on reaching St. Anne's hill we had a moſt ſplendid view of about eighty ſhips ſailing ſmoothly below us, ſpreading their white canvaſs along the coaſt of the Iſland, as they proceeded towards the harbour. Our expectations now ſeemed confirmed. It muſt be the Cork fleet: and we felt aſſured of a ſpeedy departure for St. Domingo! But our meaſure of vexation was not yet filled. Judge of our diſappointment on finding it to be only a fleet of merchantmen! Never perhaps was expectation ſo often raiſed, and ſo repeatedly diſappointed, as regarding the unhappy convoys of this great and threatening armament.

After ſpending nearly ſix months in vain attempts to make the paſſage, we are told that the two great diviſions of our expedition are ſtill lying in harbour, only *preparing* to put to ſea; and amidſt all the ſtorms and perils which have ſo conſtantly oppoſed the progreſs of the ſhips of war, and the tranſports, our mortification is increaſed by finding that a fleet of ſlow ſailing traders, could make the voyage,

with great facility, in the ſhort period of thirty days. We learn, from theſe merchantmen, that the convoys were expected to put to ſea, again, in about ten days, from the time they came away.

Every week, nay, almoſt every day, ſince the middle of the month of September, have we heard of theſe fleets being *about to ſail* in the courſe of a few days; and now, after ſix months of daily and anxious expectation, and of as conſtant diſappointment, it is again ſaid that they were to put to ſea in about ten days.

It would ſeem that the very elements had been ſet in hoſtile array, excluſively, againſt the expedition, and that it only required the ſailing of the convoys to provoke the wrath of the winds, and of angry ocean. Amidſt all the vexatious delays, that continue to occur, it is mortifying to diſcover that not one of the troop ſhips has made the paſſage with this fortunate fleet of merchantmen—which ſailed from Spithead on the 27th of February, and reached Barbadoes early on the 28th of March.

After breakfaſt we went on ſhore to make our marketings and to learn all the additional news brought by the fleet, which had now come to anchor. The ſtreets of Bridge-town were crowded, and the markets over-run with ſtrangers. Not a fiſh—nor a joint of meat was to be had. A ſingle chicken was all we could procure.

Barbadoes is the beſt ſupplied of all our colonies to windward of Jamaica. The iſland abounds with proviſions and ſtock; but from the late repeated, and multiplied arrivals, and from a numerous fleet being ſo long detained in the bay, the demand has been ſo great that a degree of ſcarcity, or, at leaſt, that mark of it, an increaſed and extravagant price begins to prevail.

In the courſe of the day on which the fleet of merchantmen arrived, a ſadly terrifying ſcene occurred in the harbour. The ſound of an alarm-bell was heard, from one of the tranſports, and a dread ſenſation was inſtantly diffuſed throughout the bay. All hands haſtened upon deck, and every ſhip appeared thronged with anxious multitudes, eagerly looking out for the

cause of alarm. The transport was on fire, and from the crowded state of the harbour, and the immense quantity of gun powder on board the fleet, our situation became sadly terrific: we were all in danger of being blown up in one great explosion. Never was a moment of more exreme peril and anxiety. The vessel was rapidly consuming, and on every quarter she was closely surrounded by others; it was therefore expected that the flames would spread throughout the harbour. Fortunately the efforts of those who were near were not paralysed by the shock. Boats were quickly manned on every side, and sent with all possible dispatch to the relief of the transport; and most happily, by the boldness and activity of the seamen, the fire was extinguished before it reached any of the other vessels.

Single ships of the Cork division still continue to join us; and among them we now find the George and Bridget with hospital stores, having our comrade Henderson on board. The George and Bridget, as I before remarked to you, is a large North country ship;

of vast bulk, very unwieldy, and manifestly a slow sailor. Her cabin is not conveniently fitted up, but appears heavy and sombre, and calculated to convey gloomy impressions. This ship has been quite the seat of incident. I am not sure whether she, originally, sailed with the fleet in November. If she did, she returned to Spithead after the storm, and there waited the second sailing of the convoy in December.—On the 9th of that month she left England, in company with us, but being disabled in one of the gales, which early beset our fleet, she put back into Cove harbour; and, there, finding the Cork division preparing for sea, and, like herself, destined for St. Domingo, she did not hasten to sail again, and follow us, alone; but waited to put herself under the protection of the Cork convoy. During this delay it was that our assistant Mac— found her out, and obtained a birth on board.

With the Cork fleet, which was termed the St. Domingo division of the expedition, the George and Bridget again went to sea, and, again, was compelled to put back in consequence of bad weather.

Only two days had paſſed, from the time of leaving the harbour, when a ſignal was made for the fleet to wear, and return to Cove. The weather being, at the time, uncommonly thick and hazy, ſeveral of the ſhips ran foul of each other: one went directly aboard the unwieldy George and Bridget, which was ever in the way of accident and diſaſter, and had it not been a much lighter veſſel, than herſelf, muſt have ſunk her, with all hands, to the bottom. As it was, ſhe ſtove in her ſide, and left an unſeemly mark of injury, which ſhe ſtill bears about her. The wind being ſcarcely more favorable for returning than for advancing, ſeveral of the ſhips were unable to make the harbour; and from being obliged to keep at ſea, they ſtood on and effected the paſſage alone,—which explains the circumſtance of ſo many ſingle ſhips of this convoy having arrived in Carliſle bay.

The George and Bridget, after her unfortunate accident, reached ſo near the harbour as to take a pilot on board to carry her in—but from the wind veering round, and blowing ſtrong againſt them, *poor Patrick* the pilot, in ſteering for Cove harbour, ſtood acroſs the

Atlantic, and committed the blunder of carrying himſelf out to the Weſt Indies. True it is that the accident might have occurred upon any other coaſt, or to a man of any other nation —but the pilot happening to be from *dear Cork itſelf*, the poor fellow, you will readily imagine, is teazed by the ſailors, as having practiſed ſomething very like—*a Bull!*

We have been diverted at hearing the circumſtance related: but we have ſtrong feelings of ſympathy towards the unfortunate pilot, and his family; for his wife and children are left in the diſtreſsful ſituation of not knowing how to account for his abſence. He had hoped to return home, by getting on board ſome veſſel upon the paſſage, but none fell in their path, and it now remains for him to take a view of the bay, into which he has ſteered, and return to tell the tale at Cove - - - as ſoon as he can.

During the time the George and Bridget remained foul of the ſhip which ran aboard her, and which in addition to the blow of her ſide, carried away her fore rigging, two of the ſailors, from the other veſſel, while in the at-

tempt to clear her, ſtepped on board the George and Bridget, and the ſhips happening at that moment to get aſunder, theſe men were ſeparated from their own veſſel, and, compelled like the pilot, to take an unexpected paſſage in the George and Bridget, to Barbadoes—their own captain ſuppoſing them to have fallen overboard, or been in ſome way the victims of the accident.

Our loſt aſſiſtant, poor Mac— who was left behind in conſequence of going to Portſmouth in ſearch of our cow, juſt as the ſhip was getting under weigh, is alſo among the unexpected paſſengers on board the eventful George and Bridget. After many unſucceſsful attempts to overtake the Lord Sheffield he felt happy in meeting with a veſſel with ſome of his comrades on board; and having diſcovered this ſhip it had been extremely difficult to convince him that no birth could be had on board. His foot once upon deck, all further concern reſpecting accommodations was quickly removed. The narrative of his adventures, with and without the cow, has diverted us exceedingly. To comprehend his urgent proceedings, and rapid movements, it were neceſſary to know ſomething of his figure and character. He is

a little fat, sturdy man, of short, punch-like figure, between thirty and forty years of age, with a vast deal of good humour and willing activity about him—bustling, well intending, and officiously desirous to be useful. He is confident, and presumptuous, yet possesses a degree of personal timidity bordering upon superstition. Abruptly familiar with those he seeks, he grows importunate and attaches himself even to annoyance; being one of those people who have more of freedom than good manners—perfect masters in ease, and as perfectly ignorant in politeness. He is of that class which possesses more of willingness than judgment—more of haste, than order; one of those who engage with bold confidence, in whatever presents itself, without looking to the event, or observing any thing of method in the execution;—who are ever ready to plunge into difficulties, without a thought how to subdue them.

The same sanguine feelings which lead him into difficulties, tend to support him through them. Not being of a disposition to brood over his distresses, he is seldom the subject of dismay, or the victim of sombre reflec-

tion. Involved in one dilemma, he commonly escapes from it by rushing headlong into a greater, and often by entailing future troubles, blunders on to his object—overcoming every impediment by forcing circumstances through all hazards to the end proposed ; then, forgetful of the new difficulties he has created, piques himself upon the merit - - - - of having accomplished his design ! His woes, you will believe, are frequent, but they are, also, transitory. He requires not the patient endurance of philosophy to support them—they pass quickly away in all the hurry of thoughtless indifference.

From this sketch of his character you will learn, without surprize, that pecuniary difficulties have led to his present humble appointment. He had settled himself in busy London, in a situation of respectability, and which promised early independence ; but from thoughtless habits, and a disposition ever regardless of the morrow, became involved beyond the power of extricating himself, and, at length, brought on ills, which he now seeks to fly from, rather than hopes to remedy.

With ſeveral other gentlemen of the hoſpital-ſtaff, to whom the fore-cabin was allotted, Mac—was ordered to take his paſſage in the Lord Sheffield; and feeling both pleaſed and proud to be in the ſame ſhip with the perſon who had the direction of the department, to which he belonged, he was always at hand when any thing occurred,—always firſt to tender either uſeful, or officious ſervices.

It being an eſſential comfort to have plenty of milk on the paſſage, we had purchaſed a cow to take on board, as the beſt method of ſecuring the accommodation; but owing to ſome neglect, on ſhore, our valued animal had not reached the Lord Sheffield at the time the ſignal was made for ſailing. This was a ſad diſappointment to us: for, to loſe our cow were a ſerious misfortune—even the apprehenſion of it was matter of much anxiety. We applied to the captain to know how we could proceed with the greateſt probability of procuring her; who, ſaying that it was not an object for which he could delay the ſhip, added that the only chance of

having our milk was by ſending off ſome perſon, inſtantly, to Portſmouth, who would bring the cow, without a moment's delay. Mac— hearing this, and being always deſirous to make himſelf uſeful, immediately volunteered his ſervices—nothing doubting of ſucceſs. A boat, returning to the ſhore, was accordingly hailed, and away hurried Mac— for the cow; not once dreaming of the poſſibility of failure; nor that there could be any riſk of his being left behind. The cow! the cow! he had no other idea—nothing but the cow occupied his mind! In the ſame unthinking haſte in which he left the ſhip did he buſtle on when he reached the ſhore. Proceeding without plan, and without thought, he looked only to the cow, and, in his hurry to bring her before the eye, neglected the means of conveying her to the ſhip. The propriety of engaging a boat, to return in, not once occurred to him—no ſooner did he reach the water's edge, than he jumped on ſhore, and ran off in ſearch of the perſon's home, from whom the cow had been purchaſed: but he now diſcovered that, in his hurry, he had only careleſsly liſtened to the addreſs; and

confequently much time was loft in finding out the houfe.

It happened, when, at length, he came to it, that the man was from home: and, here, he fell into another error. Inftead of fending fome one to fetch him, or taking with him fome perfon who knew where to meet with the man, he, in all the impetuofity of thoughtlefs fpeed, blundered into further delay by running into the town, alone, to feek him: and after lofing much time in finding him, inftead of promoting all poffible difpatch, and urging the man to the utmoft expedition, he detained him, in tedious and ufelefs explanations, as to the caufe of his not fooner fending the cow on board. Another half hour was confumed in fruitlefs parley, when they reached the houfe; and, there, feeling fecure in having the cow and her mafter near him, it occurred to Mac— that after all thefe exertions he required fome refrefhment, and, forgetting the preffure of the moment, he, again, added to the delay by, quietly, fitting down to relieve the calls of his ftomach.

During all this time poor busy thoughtless Mac— never recollected that he had no boat hired, nor any means secured of taking the cow off to the ship. He had urged on, straight forward, and now, seeing the man, and the cow before him, felt as certain of success as though the undertaking had been completed.

The cow was, at last, led down to the beach, and, on arriving with her at the water's edge, poor unthinking Mac— met with new difficulties, to which the confident security of his vacant mind had lent no expectation. Yet they proved to be more insurmountable than any he had encountered, being of a nature equally unyielding to sober circumspection, as to the storming assaults by which he, commonly, forced the obstacles that opposed him. It was the hurried moment of departure. The fleet, obeying the signal for sailing, was crowding, in full canvass, out of the harbour, and all the cutters, boats, scullies—every vessel capable of carrying an oar, or a sail, was gone off, at an exorbitant hire, with some one in danger of being left behind. No boat was to be had, at any price! This was an

impediment which might easily have been prevented, but it was an obstacle in Mac—'s broad path, which had never entered into his calculations. Still it could neither be removed, nor trampled down. Method and force—prudence and rashness were here equally unavailing. It was an obstruction which could neither be overcome by rude, nor systematic means. Mac— was now arrived at his ultimatum—checked by the ocean, he could no longer blunder on. He cursed, and raved, and swore, and implored the people standing by, all to no purpose! Prayers and imprecations were alike fruitless. Every boat was gone! Thus arrested, and unable to force circumstances further to his end, giddy Mac— became almost frantic, and seeing the ships rapidly getting out to sea, he gave vent to his feelings in all the acuteness of unexpected disappointment. Storming with rage, he swore and prayed alternately—now cursed the cow; then abused the man—ran into the different shops uttering lamentations—plied every one passing with questions—begged the boatmen to give him assistance—offered persuasions, entreaties, rewards—but all in vain! None

could give him aid. No boat remained—nor any poſſible means of getting either himſelf or the cow to the ſhip.

He obſerved the fleet putting to ſea; fancied he ſaw the Lord Sheffield dropping down to St. Helen's, and loudly deplored the loſs of his paſſage; then, turning to the cow, renewed his curſes upon her, for detaining him; and, again, loaded the man with oaths for not ſooner taking her on board. It, alſo, now occurred to his recollection, that he was ſeparated from his baggage, and would have to remain without a change of garment throughout the voyage; and again he appealed to the boatmen in anxious ſolicitude; ſome of whom only ſmiled at his dilemma, while ſome regarded him with cold indifference, and others, more awake to his diſtreſs, endeavoured to ſoothe, and encourage him with hope. What can I do? good fellows! cried poor defeated Mac—, what ſhall I do? what can I do? d—n this cow? ſhall I, ſailors! muſt I loſe my paſſage? Can none of you help me—ſhall I, muſt I be left behind?

The fleet ſtill advanced. The full can-

vaſs ſpread every maſt, and the ſhips, in crowded ſucceſſion, continued to put to ſea. Poor Mac—looked ſtedfaſtly towards them—his eye intent upon the Lord Sheffield; then, ſuddenly turning round, he again ſaw the patient cow, who, equally unconſcious of his diſtreſs, as that ſhe was the cauſe of it, had quietly laid herſelf down to ruminate her cud, upon the ſands. Finding new provocation in the poor animal's compoſure, I ſhall, exclaimed Mac—I muſt, I ſhall be left behind! Curſe that cow; d—n the cow! I ſhall, I ſhall be left behind! Then again turning to the boatmen he ſolicited them, in new entreaties, to take him off with, or without the cow—forgetting how uſeleſs it were to urge the men, when there was nothing to be had in the ſhape of a boat.

Still the little, fat, improvident man curſed and ſwore and ſtamped and ſtormed—begged, entreated, and implored; but all to no purpoſe. The ſtumbling block of impoſſibility was in his path: and it might have taught him that engagements are, ſometimes, more eaſily undertaken, than accompliſhed: but it was not among his qualities - - - - to benefit by experience!

The Lord Sheffield was delayed until nearly the laſt ſhip, in the hope of our ſeeing Mac— and the Cow; and we thought him a tedious time before he returned. At length the anchor was up, and the ſails ſpread. We now looked anxiouſly to the ſhore. The day was wearing away; and no Mac—, no cow appeared! The captain could not—dared not wait any longer! Quickly, therefore, we were under weigh, and had only the hope that Mac— and the boat might ſteer direct for St. Helen's, and meet us as we advanced from the Mother-bank. But ſtill, poor fellow! he remained in great tribulation upon the ſhore. No boat could be had, and the only ray of hope, conveyed to him, was from a remark of the boatmen, that, as many of the ſhips were getting out to ſea, ſome of the boats could not fail to be ſoon back. He caught eagerly at this idea, which, plain and ſimple as it was, had not once ſuggeſted itſelf to his mind, and, appropriating it with all the ſanguine feelings of his nature, again hailed the certainty of ſoon overtaking us.

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Preſently a boat arrived, but it was only a ſmall one, with oars. Still a boat it was, and

Mac— without confidering whether or not it was fit for his purpofe, impulfively ran down and jumped into it—calling to the men to take him to the Lord Sheffield! This they obferved was impoffible, for, even if they had time to reach her, which they had not, their boat could not live fo far out at fea, as where the fhip would be before they could come up with her.—This was a fad blow to his revived expectations, and he preffed the men to engage in the attempt; making them great offers of reward, but they were inflexible, and advifed him, as his only chance, to wait until a lugger, or fome larger boat with fails fhould come in.

The poor cow ftill lay quietly mafticating her food upon the fands, and Mac— in great fatigue and all the chagrin of difappointment, fat himfelf down, lefs patiently, to ruminate a more bitter cud.

Other fmall boats arrived, but the men who came in them offered the fame objections as the former, and but little encouraged the faint hope of even a lugger being able to come up with the fleet; fo rapidly were the fhips getting out to fea.

But Mac— ſaw no difficulty, provided he could only prevail upon the crew of any boat to take him from the ſhore. He ſtill looked towards us, and ſtill fancied that he diſtinguiſhed our ſhip, lying to waiting for him and the cow. Again, and again he ſolicited the boatmen to take him off, either with, or without the cow. But all was unavailing; the ſhips would, neceſſarily, be at ſea, before the boats could get near them; and to overtake the Lord Sheffield was, abſolutely, impoſſible. Poor Mac—, at length, began to diſcover that he had proceeded raſhly, and without well calculating the means of ſucceſs: but he ſtill curſed the unconſcious cow, and abuſed the fates for the loſs of his paſſage, and his baggage!

Thus it ever is with the improvident—whether regarding his time, his fortune, or his purſuits. The errors of imprudence he never fails to attribute to misfortune, and he unjuſtly charges upon the fates what is only the reſult of his own folly or neglect. And, here, my friend, I cannot but remark how common it is to others, as well as to our thoughtleſs Mac— to quarrel with misfortune, whenever

they are overtaken by the consequences of their misconduct. No important personage is so unhandsomely, or so unjustly treated as that poor, and modest young lady Miss-*fortune.* All the errors, and even the crimes of those indiscreet damsels Miss-*usage*, and Miss-*conduct*, are laid to her charge; and, however frequently, however grievously the imprudent suffer from committing themselves to the guidance of these deceitful jilts, still are they so infatuated as to prostrate themselves at their feet, and blindly attribute all the ills they suffer from them, to the more chaste, and innocent *Miss-fortune.* How often do the unthinking and the profligate cry aloud against misfortune, for bringing upon them the evils, which were the plain and necessary consequence of their own folly, or depravity; and which even the smallest share of common discretion might, with the utmost certainty, have prevented!

If, instead of thoughtlessly blundering into various and unnecessary delays, our hurrying Mac— had first engaged a proper vessel for taking off the cow, or even detained the boat which had carried him on shore, he might have saved himself the accumulated vexation,

fatigue, and anxiety which were the natural effect, and the necessary sequel of his method of proceeding; and not, as he insisted, of misfortune!

He now began to perceive that he was left in England, with all his clothes and baggage gone to the West Indies, and forgetting, for a moment, his present difficulties—forgetting the cow, and all around him, he sunk into pensive contemplation, upon the various evils which might follow, when he was, suddenly, roused by the cry of "a lugger, a lugger, here comes a lugger." It made no part of Mac—'s character to lose time in useless bewailings. If a new path presented itself, however rugged or impassable—if but the slightest opening occurred, however faint the gleam of light admitted, he, hastily, pursued it, dashing, heedlessly, on to his object.—Hence on hearing that a lugger was in sight, sanguine hope again assumed the form of certainty, and without a moment of hesitation, to weigh probabilities, he resolved, at all hazards, in defiance of all doubts, and at whatever expence, to take off the cow in the lugger the moment it reached the shore. The vessel was, accord-

ingly, hailed as it came in, and the men were desired not to let go the anchor; but to "take the gentleman, and the cow on board, and return immediately to the fleet." The crew expressed many apprehensions of not being able to reach the ship; and demanded an exorbitant sum, even, to make the attempt. Mac— would hear no objections: there could be no obstacle—no difficulty! He would give them any reward; and go they must. "Take me and the cow on board—take us off —carry us out towards the fleet, and I'll give you any thing" was all he had to say, and all the agreement he required.

Some delay, necessarily, occurred in getting the cow into the boat, although as little as possible; and Mac —, most joyfully, jumped in after her. All was now certain. Every terror vanished. He regained all his powers, and feeling confident of success became clamorous and bustling as ever. He entreated the boatmen to be active—related to them his anxieties and disasters, stormed them with idle questions, hurried them with persuasions, and encouraged them with offers of reward. Still their fears hung heavy upon them. They pro-

mifed exertion, but doubted fuccefs. The Lord Sheffield failed well : fhe alfo laid near to the wind, and, not to lofe any further time, we fteered direct for St. Helen's. Unluckily for poor Mac, — his delay had exhaufted our patience, and defpairing both of our milk, and our meffenger, we had already paffed Spithead, and were advancing into deeper water, and heavier feas.

Mac— was yet very diftant, and, the boatmen's doubts increafing, his confidence gave way to reftlefs folicitude. He looked out anxioufly for the Lord Sheffield, and implored the men to hoift every fail, and pull hard at every oar : then, growing more and more reftlefs, he jumped up, fat down, afked queftions, curfed the fates, looked up to the fails, caft his eye down to the oars, ufed perfuafions, promifed rewards, and exhibited every trait of anxious difquietude.

At length he defcried the Lord Sheffield ! She was very far ahead, but creative fancy faw her lying-to waiting for the lugger. Mac— 's declining hopes were again affured— no doubt remained, and pointing out the fhip to the

boatmen he insisted that they might soon be up with her. The men used all their efforts, and still proceeded, although they could not discover that the ship was waiting. Mac— was certain the boat gained upon us. The men thought otherwise, and feared it would be impossible to reach us: but Mac— had never believed in impossibilities! The Lord Sheffield was before them, and in sight, and hence they could, and must overtake her! He insisted upon their going on, and urgently implored them to use every possible endeavour. Encouraged by his promises, and not insensible to his earnest solicitude, they stretched every sail to its utmost thread, and pulled with all their might at the oars: but every effort was in vain. We had now abandoned every hope of seeing our cow; the sails were full spread; and we were standing on our passage. In fine we were at sea, and had lost both our milk, and our assistant.

The boatmen found that they were advanced into deep water. The oars became useless, and the rolling seas which beat against the boat impeded her progress. The ship outsailed her, and she evidently fell astern. All

further purſuit was hopeleſs, and the boatmen unwillingly gave up the chace. Even Mac — whoſe expectations, when he firſt deſcried the ſhip, had aſſured him of ſucceſs, now diſcovered that the further he advanced, the further he was left behind.

Ever without deliberation, poor unhappy man, he now yielded to the impulſe of diſappointment, and threw himſelf down in the boat, in all the anguiſh of deſpair, lamenting his cruel fortune, and curſing his thoughtleſs head, for not having ſecured a boat when firſt he reached the ſhore. But as it was not among his qualities to profit by experience, he precipitated himſelf, in the very next ſtep of his proceedings, into further error and confuſion. To deliberate was no part of his ſyſtem. Ever adventurous, and devoid of method, he ruſhed head-long into a gulf yet deeper and deeper; although a ſingle moment of ſteady contemplation might have extricated him from all his troubles.

When the purſuit was found to be fruitleſs, and he deſpaired of coming up with the Lord Sheffield, inſtead of deſiring to be put

on board any other veſſel of the fleet which they might be able to fetch, and from which he might have removed to our ſhip, any fine day upon the voyage, he ordered the boatmen to carry him back to Portſmouth and there, likewiſe, inſtead of applying to the agent to give him a paſſage, in any veſſel that might be delayed behind the fleet; he returned the cow to her home, and wildly took a boat to the Iſle of Wight, fancying that, from ſome part of the oppoſite coaſt of the iſland, he might be able to reach the Lord Sheffield. This he had heard mentioned, as barely poſſible, and deſpiſing all doubts and difficulties, inſtantly embraced it as certain.

He paid off the lugger, and hired a different boat to carry him to the iſland. This again conſumed time, and every moment of delay leſſened the ſlight probability he had of ſucceſs. On reaching the Iſle of Wight he had to journey many miles, acroſs the iſland, to attain the port from whence he purpoſed to embark. He accordingly hired a horſe, and ruſhing on, as uſual, without thought, forgot to take any perſon to bring it back again.

But little time was consumed in galloping across the island, and on reaching the sea-port he discovered some ships of the fleet, not far distant from the shore. In his mind slight probabilities amounted to a confirmation of success, and hence the bare appearance of ships, was, instantly, construed into a certainty of getting on board the Lord Sheffield.

Leaving the horse he knew not how, nor with whom, he went into a boat, and again put to sea, desiring the men to take him "to the Lord Sheffield, which was about to pass that way." Again, instead of adopting the more prudent and certain method of getting on board the first ship of the fleet they could reach, and going, from her, to the Lord Sheffield on the passage, he employed the boatmen, for hours, in the fruitless pursuit of looking for our ship; forgetting, what was actually the case, that we might have passed the slow sailing vessels of the convoy, and have advanced beyond that part of the island.

The day declined; the sun was sinking into the ocean; and night coming on; when our tormented Mac— again found himself the

victim of disappointed hopes, and ardent expectations. Still it never occurred to him that he might have made one of the dull-sailing vessels, and have saved his passage. In bitter chagrin, and sadness of spirit, he returned to the shore: but not to deliberate upon the next best plan of proceeding, for, even yet, he was deaf to experience. Like a Frenchman he was not long the subject of despondency, but, in defiance of all fatigue, and without discussing any of the probabilities, he again rushed into new and ill-planned adventures. If one project failed—he believed that he had only to fly to another.

After some trouble he found the horse, he had so thoughtlessly left behind. And although it was late, and grown almost dark, he galloped across the island, and again took off a boat to Portsmouth: from whence he, absurdly, set off the next morning for Plymouth, in the wild certainty of being able to get on board the Lord Sheffield, from thence. Upon his arrival, some ships were seen at a great distance from the shore, and it was not easy to ascertain whether they belonged to our convoy; but Mac— was not apt to doubt, and with

difcretion he held no fort of acquaintance. Certainties alone were his affociates. He faw every thing plain before him, and believed that he need only put out his hand to poffefs it. It muft be the fleet! Thefe fhips were certainly of the convoy, and the Lord Sheffield as certainly one of them. Another boat was accordingly hired, and he infifted upon going out to fea in order to be put on board. It is unaccountable that, even yet, it fhould not have occurred to him to go on board any fhip of the convoy, which they might be able to make. But no! he was fure of the Lord Sheffield—his baggage was on board the Lord Sheffield—and the Lord Sheffield was - - - - - - the only fhip upon the ocean! Were it poffible to reach any part of the fleet, it muft be equally fo to gain the Lord Sheffield. But, to his further difappointment, we had again outfailed his fpeed, and had paffed beyond the port from whence he failed to meet us. The veffels feen were a few of the very dulleft failors of the convoy—and even thefe were probably too far out at fea to be overtaken in a boat. Yet the boatmen, either from believing it poffibe to come up with them—or from availing themfelves of Mac—'s eager impetuofity, to their

own profit, rather countenanced than difcouraged his hopes. It required but little to affure him of what he fo ardently wifhed, and in full certitude, under fevere fatigue, and without food, did he continue failing about throughout the greater part of the day—fupporting both hunger and exertion by the animating hope of fuccefs.

Unluckily the boatmen who had flattered his profpects, were afterwards feized with doubts : The fhips were too far out at fea : the tide was againft them : the wind was fhifting: it was growing calm: they fhould not be able to get back by night, and other difficulties and objections occurred to oppofe their proceeding further. Indeed the profpect of reaching the fleet, evidently grew lefs and lefs, until at length Mac— himfelf acknowledged it to be impoffible.

His dilemma was now at the higheft: what to do, or how to proceed he knew not. The Lord Sheffield was gone ; his baggage was on board ; and he - - - - - left behind ! All his efforts had proved unfuccefsful—all his hope fallacious. He returned on fhore, ac-

cufing his unluckly ftars, and blaming fortune for all his difappointments. To moft men fuch a fituation would have been very painfully diftreffing. He was thrown into a diftant part of the country—far from his home and his friends. He had loft his clothes—was abfent from his duty—out of the way of every opportunity of following the convoy, and, worft of all, had fpent every farthing of his money. But he was not eafily difmayed. It now occurred to him that a fleet, bound to St. Domingo, was on the eve of failing from Cork; and, proceeding in all the precipitation of his former movements, he, inftantly, adopted the refolution of journeying to Ireland, to join the Cove convoy. How to get money would have been a difficulty to moft men; but diffidence was not Mac —'s greateft failing; he therefore did not lofe time by delaying at Plymouth, waiting remittances to enable him to proceed further, but he went boldly to a gentleman of the town, related the tale of his woes, excited his compaffion, and, obtaining his confidence, procured from him the means of defraying his expences to Ireland. His purfe being, thus, replenifhed, his cares were quickly diffipated: and he took his de-

parture for Cork, under hopes no leſs extravagant, than thoſe which had led him to the Iſle of Wight, and to Plymouth; for the Cork fleet was already reported to have ſailed, and the probability was, that under all circumſtances, it would be gone before he could poſſibly reach Cove harbour. He travelled with little delay to Milford-Haven; whence he embarked in the packet for Waterford; and thence purſued his journey to Cork, and to Cove. Fortunately the convoy had not ſailed, and he found the whole fleet ſtill lying in harbour, alſo many veſſels of the Portſmouth convoy, which had been obliged to put back, after the early ſtorms to which they had been expoſed.

All former troubles and diſappointments, and even the poor ill-tokened cow were now ſoon forgotten. The greater part of the St. Domingo hoſpital ſtaff was with the Cork convoy; and Mac— was not of a diſpoſition to be long a ſtranger among his comrades. Looking out for a ſhip, in which to procure a paſſage, he diſcovered the George and Bridget, and, knowing Dr. Henderſon and others of the hoſpital-ſtaff to be on board, he, without heſitation, applied to the captain for a

birth, repeating his adventures, with and without the cow, as his paſſport. The captain had, already, his full complement of paſſengers on board—indeed was crowded with more than he could conveniently accommodate. But Mac—was not inclined to hear objections, or to make difficulties. In the George and Bridget he muſt go! The ſhip was ſufficiently large, and he was diſpoſed to accept whatever accommodations he might find.

From his frankneſs of manner, and the willingneſs he expreſſed to put up with all the inconveniences that might preſent themſelves, as well as from his companionable familiarity, the maſter of the ſhip became intereſted in his behalf, and adopted him as his prime aſſociate. Soon he was the companion and friend, and none were ſo happy as *Doctor* and *Captain*; for in a few hours they were the acquaintances of years; and Mac— was ſo entirely *chez lui*, that he ſeemed rather to be the maſter's intimate friend, than a paſſenger. He now was happy—forgot all paſt cares and toils, looked forward to a quick paſſage, and the delight of a clean ſhirt on his arrival. Yet were his troubles not at an end, for on the accident

occurring of another ship running foul of the George and Bridget, the timid nature of poor Mac— represented to his imagination a thousand terrors, and, in the hurried impulse of vivid apprehension, cruelly augmented the alarm: in all the dread of sinking to the bottom, he accused his luckless stars, called the fates relentless, uttered loud ejaculations for his safety, and called that moment only, unhappy, which had led him to the George and Bridget. But the ship afterwards made a short and favorable passage, and is arrived in safety at Barbadoes —where poor Mac— yet lives to relate all his perils by sea, and his troubles on shore *.

* The George and Bridget afterwards sunk in the harbour of Cape St. Nicholas Mole: and poor unfortunate Mac— soon after his arrival at St. Domingo fell a victim *to the yellow fever.*

LETTER III.

A Common signal of alarm converted into an ensign of joy. Acuteness of sailors in discovering the nature and extent of a fleet at sea. Convoy from Cork arrives on the 1st of April. Its entrance into Carlisle bay an interesting scene. Author and his comrades expect to proceed to St. Domingo. Voyage thither from Barbadoes only a pleasant run down the trades.

Barbadoes, April 1.

ACCUSTOMED to address you upon all occasions without reserve, my glad pen, true to the feelings that direct it, seems conscious when made the herald of happy tidings, and, on such occasions, certain of being hailed with all the warmth of sympathy, it hastens to greet you with a swiftness even beyond its feathered self.

We are here all joy and gladness. Without the humour of an April day, the morning has been bright and cheerful, from bringing to us friends we have long been anxious to meet.

I have before observed to you, that the alarm signal being hoisted at the fort, indicates

a ſtrange fleet in ſight. When it appears every one is on the alert, and ready to take his poſt, and thus the ſignal ſerves to prevent ſurprize. But, one idea ſo predominates among our party, and we have been ſo long abſorbed in one great expectation, that the ſignal of alarm is become a ſignal of joy, and, with the report of a ſtrange fleet, we inſtantly aſſociate the arrival of our long expected convoy.

Early this morning the enſign of alarm was flying at the battery, but apprehenſion was not even the momentary effect; no ſooner did the eye convey the intelligence to the mind, than the heart bounded with gladneſs, and we aſſured ourſelves of the remainder of our Portſmouth convoy. In this belief we were alſo ſanctioned by the late arrival of the Roſe E. Indiaman and the Columbus, both of which had ſailed from Spithead with Admiral Cornwallis, and likewiſe by the arrival of La Favorite, a faſt ſailing French veſſel of 20 guns, which had been captured by the fleet on its paſſage, and ſent in under command of one of our officers—Still our ready conjectures did not convey the fact, for as the unnumbered ſtrangers approached, it was diſcovered that

they were neither foes, nor Portſmouth friends.

On this occaſion, as on many others, we were both pleaſed and ſurpriſed to obſerve the acuteneſs of our men of the ocean in diſcovering the nature and extent of a diſtant fleet, at ſea. Before *we* could well diſtinguiſh a ſhip from a brig, our tars, from the cut of the ſails, proclaimed it an Engliſh convoy, but not that of Admiral Cornwallis. From the mode of ſetting the canvaſs, from the form of the ſhip, the figure of the maſts, or ſome ſlight circumſtance, attaching to different veſſels, but totally imperceptible to us, they had no heſitation in declaring, while yet at a great diſtance, that inſtead of the fleet from Spithead, it was our long-wiſhed for convoy from Cork.

To us this was even better and ſtill more joyful news, and we had ſoon the gratification of finding it correct. The whole fleet is now at anchor in the bay, and has brought to us a large body of troops, deſtined for St. Domingo, under the command of General Whyte. This being peculiarly our diviſion of the expedition, we had twofold pleaſure in greeting its arrival.

In our gladneſs to hail it, we climbed the ſhrouds up to the main top—and there ſtood to view its entrance into the bay.

Such a ſcene muſt have been highly intereſting, even had it been wholly independent of the intimate connection we had with it: the day was fine—the breeze ſoft and mild, and the ſurface of the water gently moving. The picture was rich and varied: comprehending, under a bird's-eye-view, the town, and neighbouring plantations—the bay crowded with ſhipping—a great extent of the fine country around—and the wide ocean, together with the numerous veſſels of our deſired convoy dropping with full ſails into the harbour.

You will believe that it was one of the moſt pleaſing proſpects we had beheld ſince our departure from England. While it ſeems to ſecure the ſpeedy removal of our long and anxious ſuſpenſe, it ſtrongly revives the hope of a ſucceſsful campaign.

This fleet, which had been ſo often reported at ſea, even ſo long ſince as before we left England, and which did once ſail and return to har-

bour, finally took its departure from Cove on the 25th of February: hence it may, at last, be considered to have made a very favorable passage, having been precisely five weeks at sea.

We now look forward to a speedy change of place, and I may soon have to address you from St. Domingo, where I hope to meet your letters, and learn tidings of ye all. It is about a week's voyage, and is considered a very pleasant one—being as fine sailing as is known on any part of the occean; the ship having only to spread wide her wings and fly before the trades.

LETTER IV.

Creole languor from heat of climate—favorable to the Brunonian doctrine. Effect of climate upon a Dutch ſailor. Lord Sheffield hailed by a man in the ſea. An intoxicated ſailor overawed by the preſence of a ſuperior.

Barbadoes, April.

INDOLENCE is conſidered to be the general effect of exceſſive heat of climate; and had the great Bruno viſited the tropical regions, he might here have found many facts in ſupport of his plauſible and very ingenious doctrine. The languor of climate is felt by few on their early arrival in the Weſt Indies. The firſt effect of the heat ſeems to be that of ſtimulating the rigid northern fibre into increaſed activity—and Creole inertneſs follows only as the reſult of continued reſidence.

"Preciſely thus," would have exclaimed the ingenious Bruno, "and ſo with wine, opium, beloved brandy, and all other ſtimuli. They, at firſt, only increaſe the excitement, and give new vigour to the frame; but, con-

tinued to excess, they exhaust the excitability —over-run ever delighting excitement, and plunge the body into indirect debility, inducing a state of body, precisely similar to that of Creole inactivity—a state from which there is no escape, but through the medium of new or still more powerful stimuli." Yet, the renewed vigour—the restored excitement, acquired by a return to the sedative north, would seem an everlasting obstacle to the theory as stated by its great projector—the languor of climate, or indirect debility, being removed by a directly debilitating power—the abstraction of heat.

But I am straying from our path. Let me, therefore, retrace my steps, and tell you the effect of climate upon a cold Hollander of our crew.

I have already made known to you that neither my comrade Cleghorn, nor myself, yet feel any sense of tropical indolence, but continue our habits of exercise in all our rude European strength. We have, for some days past, been closely watching one of our sailors—a Dutchman. He is recently from Hol-

land, and, in manners and appearance, *un vrai Batave.* On the paſſage he was a dull, heavy, ſlow, and plodding Dutchman—frigid, and inanimate as the moſt icy boor of his aquatic nation. His movements were a pretty accurate repreſentation of the crawling ſloth, and the unvaried ſedateneſs of his viſage no leſs emblematical of his native home.

Having particularly noticed him throughout the voyage, we feel ſome ſurprize in now witneſſing, as it were, a complete revolution of his nature and habits. The rays of a tropical ſun ſeem to have given play to his muſcles, ſet free all the circulating juices of his frame, and unfrozen the icy coldneſs of his ſoul. The change we obſerve in him is indeed greater than you can imagine: rouſed from the torpor of unheeding ſameneſs, by the all-vivifying power of tropical warmth, the cold cloud of indifference is diſſipated from his brow—and the Batavian gluten of his frame ſublimed into volatile ſpirits. He is grown cheerful and gay; wears a ſmile of mirth upon his countenance, and moves with an agility and alertneſs, beyond all that could have been hoped in a Dutchman. He now ſkips merrily

about the ſhip; pulls his oar with glee in the boat; and, on all occaſions, appears animated and lively; vying in ſpirits and activity with the sprightlieſt tar of the ſhip.

I have next to conduct you into the preſence of a true Engliſh ſailor; but firſt let me aſk you, as one verſed in the operations of the human mind, in what way the appearance of a ſuperior, before the eye of a drunken man, produces the effect of inſtantly ſubduing all the violence of wrath and revenge?

Early this morning our ſhip was hailed in the loud rough voice of a ſailor, who, from the ſound, appeared to be near to us, but no boat was ſeen to be alongſide, nor could we diſcover whence the voice proceeded; ſtill it was repeated again and again, and at length, on looking over the quarter boards, we perceived a naked head in the ſea. A rope was inſtantly thrown over, and the man, eagerly ſeizing it, quickly climbed on board. It was a ſailor from one of the neighbouring ſhips, who was much intoxicated, and had thrown himſelf into the ſea, in order to eſcape from the veſſel, on account of a quarrel with the

boatſwain and mate, who, according to his account, had treated him very ill. He was bitterly incenſed, and in all the heat of rage proteſted, violently, againſt the captain, the mate, the boatſwain, and in ſhort the very ſhip, ſwearing that no earthly power ſhould ever oblige him to return to it, and entreating to be employed on board the Lord Sheffield. But finding him to be exceſſively intoxicated, we hailed the maſter of the ſhip and informed him where to find his ſailor. He, accordingly, came without delay to fetch him, and we were ſurprized to remark, that the very inſtant he ſtepped on board, and the man's eye met him, all his inebriate violence, as if by magic, was ſubdued, and at once converted into temperate ſubmiſſion and obedience. Simply the face of his commander in a moment extinguiſhed the furious flames of wrath, checked the burning current of revenge, and deſtroyed all ſenſe of an injury which had been powerful enough to impel him to the hazard of throwing himſelf into the ſea;—all his loud execrations ceaſed, he became docile and reſpectful, and returned to his ſhip without a murmur?—How true it is, my friend, that the paſſions of men may be brought under

control, and how lamentable that they are so commonly left to reign in lawlefs fway! How often do we fee that, like our drunken failor, thofe intoxicated with boifterous rage, however loud and violent before their intimates, can command themfelves into a milder manner, when overawed by the prefence of ftrangers, or of their fuperiors.

LETTER V.

A surgical operation performed with great dexterity by a negro. Progress of chigoes in the foot. Negroes expert in finding them. Mode of extracting them. Indolent toil of slaves. Inconvenient method of labour. Severity used towards a party of slaves. Brigands defeated at Grenada. Officers lost of the name of Edwards. Single ships continue to arrive in Carlisle bay. Reports respecting the St. Domingo division. Sir John La Forey arrives at Barbadoes.

Barbadoes, April.

PERHAPS you will feel somewhat surprized should I tell you that we have seen an African slave perform a chirurgical operation, with greater dexterity than it could have been done by the most skilful surgeon of Europe!

Walking on the beach, we remarked two negroes sitting on the sands, occupied with something, which seemed to command minute attention; and on approaching near to them, we found the one engaged in extracting that sadly troublesome insect the Chigoe, from the other's foot. Our curiosity being excited, we stopped to witness the operation, and saw it executed with great neatness and dexterity.

The chigoe is a very minute inſect, which inſinuates itſelf, imperceptibly, under the ſkin, moſt commonly of the toes; and there, forming a nidus, produces its young. Theſe are enveloped in a ſmall cyſt or bag, which uſually increaſes to the ſize of a pea, as the period of maturity approaches. When the young are to eſcape, a ſenſe of tingling, or itching is felt in the part—at firſt very ſlight, often, indeed, not ſufficient to attract the notice of Europeans—but, if longer neglected, increaſes to a ſenſe of ſoreneſs on preſſure, or on treading upon that part of the foot. This commonly leads to examination, when a black, or dark point is diſcovered, which directs to a ſmall, and ſcarcely tumid circle, whitiſh, or very ſlightly inflamed, of an appearance ſomewhat like what might ariſe from a pea lodged under the ſkin. If, at this period the cyſt be removed, the diſeaſe is eradicated, and nothing further is to be apprehended; but if it be ſtill further neglected, the nidus ruptures, and the young ones eſcaping penetrate into the parts around, producing a ſore which degenerates into a troubleſome ulcer, and this being increaſed by the new cyſts of many chigoes, not unfrequently

proceeds to incurable diſeaſe, and ultimately to the deſtruction of the toe.

The chigoe prevails moſt in ſandy places. In this iſland they are very numerous. A negro not unfrequently extracts five or ſix from his feet, at one ſitting; and ſo expert are they at finding them, that, in examining the foot of an European, a ſlave will, frequently, diſcover two or three chigoes, before the maſter had felt the leaſt ſenſe of itching or uneaſineſs from them.

The mode of extracting them is as follows: with a pointed pen-knife, not very ſharp, or the blunt end of a large needle, a ſlight opening is broken in the ſkin, at the ſmall black point over the cyſt. From this opening the ſkin is forced away, by being torn, or broken down, and preſſed outwards, on all ſides, care being taken not to puncture, or otherwiſe rupture the cyſt. The ſkin, being thus ſeparated, the nidus or ſmall bag becomes expoſed in form of a little round body—and is, afterwards, extracted by preſſing down the point of the inſtrument, at one ſide, and turn-

ing it out whole. A round hole remains not unlike a pea iſſue. This the negro commonly fills with aſhes from the pipe or ſagar, mixed with butter, tallow from a candle, or any other kind of greaſe that happens to be at hand, and the cure is completed with the operation.

A ſpecimen of indolence in labour has occurred to our obſervation, which, whether it be regarded as the effect of climate, or of ſlavery, I may note to you as an additional example of the feeble exertions uſed by ſlaves in their unrequited round of toil. A party of negroes being employed to remove ſome hoſpital ſtores, from the ſide of the water to a warehouſe, Dr. Cleghorn and myſelf took the opportunity of paſſing that way in our walk, in order to ſee them at work, and to remark upon their induſtry and mode of labour.—We found no leſs than ten ſlaves occupied in rolling a middle-ſized cheſt, with a black driver holding his whip at their backs, and an overſeer, of fairer ſkin, to command them. It was perhaps, in all reſpects, the very worſt way in which ſuch a package could have been moved! From the ſize of the

cheſt it was only with difficulty each negro could find ſpace for an aſſiſting hand; from its ſhape it was moſt inconvenient for rolling; and, from its contents, moſt improper—being filled with bottles, jars, earthen pots, and the like. In England four men would have carried it upon a hand-barrow with great eaſe—while, here, the time and labour of twelve men were conſumed in moving it, at a rate incomparably ſlower, and at the expence, probably, of great part of its contents.

We pointed out to them the injury that might, and the loſs of time that neceſſarily muſt derive from this method of moving it, and endeavored to convince them how much better, ſafer, and more expeditious it would be, to take it up, and carry it. But, no! That was not their way! "*We no ſavez carry him, we roll him gently, Maſſa, den we no break 'em bottles inſide,*" was the reply. In even the moſt liberal it is always a taſk to oppoſe habits confirmed by long uſage—among ſlaves it were utterly in vain to attempt it! Had we inſiſted upon the caſe being carried, it is more than probable that it had

quickly fallen to the ground, and the whole contents been ſhattered to atoms; we, therefore, left them to purſue their own means.

We have ſince met with another circumſtance nearly ſimilar, which I might offer to you as a further example of the indolent manner in which ſlaves execute their taſk: or I might note it as a ſpecimen of the cruelties which men, held in ſlavery, may, and too frequently do become ſubject to, from paſſionate, and unfeeling individuals. Walking towards the hoſpital we met a party of negroes rolling a box of ſtores from the boat, in which they had been brought on ſhore, to the ſtore-room. Perceiving the caſe to be light, and knowing it to contain only veſſels of tin, a deſire to ſee how they would perform led us to try the experiment of making them carry it: nor, in doing this were we aware of expoſing any of them to an act of cruelty, or, we had aſſuredly left them, as before, to their own way.—On attempting to lift the package to their ſhoulders, they ſet about it preciſely in the awkward and ludicrous manner we had expected; ſtill as no

accident, nor injury of consequence could derive from it, we, who were recently from Europe, were quite diverted at their fruitless and incompetent efforts; but Captain ——, who was with us, and had resided long enough in the West Indies to have accustomed himself to the arbitrary treatment of slaves, seeing the stupid way in which they attempted this new task, immediately gave one of the poor fellows a cruel cut, with a large horse whip, across the face and eyes! We remonstrated with him on this unnecessary and unmerited severity; and could not but mark it, in our minds, as an act of wanton cruelty; which, if I may judge from the impulse of my own feelings, will long stand against him. We desired the poor negroes to put down the box, and convey it according to their own method; and, in sentiments of indignation, left the Captain to the remorse which ought to be his punishment.

You will be pleased to know that intelligence has just reached us of the defeat of the brigands at Grenada, in an action with our troops, commanded by general Nicoll. Their loss is said to amount to three hundred men.

It is with grief we learn that ſeveral of our brave countrymen have alſo fallen; among whom we lament to find Major Edwards, whoſe very name would ſeem at this moment to be unfortunate, for Major Edwards of the artillery has alſo juſt taken a fatal leave of his comrades, in conſequence of (perhaps imprudent) expoſure to climate; and a Lieutenant Edwards, only a few days ſince, fell a victim to typhus fever contracted on the paſſage.

The Portſmouth fleet is ſtill a truant to our expectations. From the tidings we had received of it we now think it long delayed; and unhappy conjectures, reſpecting it, again prevail. Four additional ſhips of this convoy arrived ſome days ſince, and from theſe we felt aſſured of learning that the Admiral and the remainder of the fleet were near the iſland; but we were diſappointed on finding that they parted from the convoy the firſt or ſecond night, after leaving Spithead; ſince which they have neither ſeen nor heard any thing of it. No accurate intelligence having reached us, ſince the time our expectations had led us to look for its arrival, we have

many fears lest Admiral Cornwallis may have sailed into Admiral Christian's unfortunate path; and, like him, been obliged to trace his course back into an English port.

You will feel no surprise on knowing that many rumours have already obtained circulation, all equally uncertain, and, perhaps, equally unfounded, regarding the further movements of the St. Domingo division. Some insist that we are to go immediately; others that we are to wait the arrival of Admiral Cornwallis; and many that we are not to go at all. At one moment the whole of us are to sail without delay: next we hear that only the cavalry is to go: then it is said that the barrack ships, and a detachment of the hospital staff, only, are to proceed: and, again, we hear it whispered by some one, believing himself to be quite in the secret, that the horse ships, the store ships, and the whole of the hospital department are to go down to St. Domingo, and the principal body of the Cork division to remain, and assist in the grand objects of the expedition to windward! Amidst such incertitude I can, only, say as usual—continue to write to me at St. Domingo.

Sir John La Forey is arrived here in the Majeſtic, from Martinique. This officer, who, for ſome time paſt, has had the command of the navy upon this ſtation, and is much reſpected in the colonies, we are told is to be relieved, and to return to England on the arrival of Admiral Cornwallis, or Admiral Chriſtian.

LETTER VI.

General Remarks concerning Barbadoes. Different appearance of the West India Islands, and the opposite coast. Situation and extent of Barbadoes. Period of settlement. General face of the Island.—Called aged and decrepit. Inhabitants proud of its antiquity. Early commerce and population of Barbadoes. Its decline from its former prosperity. Middle class of Inhabitants. Temperature and salubrity of the atmosphere. Exemption from important ills. Endemial malady. Carlisle bay. Whence so named. Towns, houses, huts, cottages and other buildings. Varied and interesting scenery. Hospitality of the Inhabitants. Remarks concerning the distinctive appellation of the two divisions of the armament. Difficulty of ascertaining which the windward, and which the leeward islands according to the common acceptation. Soil of Barbadoes. Remarks on tillage and cultivation. Small cattle kept for the purpose of supplying manure. Wet and dry seasons. Sea and land breeze. Equal length of the days. Absence of twilight. Perpetual summer compared with the delighting novelty of an English Spring. Remarks upon Spring. An English scene in the month of May.

Barbadoes, April 7.

HAVING from time to time detailed to you, in all of desultory remark, the whole

chain of circumſtances that have paſſed under my eye, you will not perhaps deem it premature, ſhould I now offer you a few general obſervations concerning the iſland of Barbadoes. After a reſidence of many weeks it is probable that my notes may poſſeſs more of correctneſs than any I might have offered you immediately on my arrival. I feel, alſo, that you may find them ſomewhat more intereſting after the irregular melange that has preceded them. I therefore purpoſe taking up my pen, from day to day, at each moment of leiſure, until I ſhall have copied for you the few remarks I have collected on the general ſubject of Barbadoes, and may probably ſend them to you, in a full packet, by ſome early occaſion.

From the ſituation of the Weſt India Iſlands in the Atlantic ocean, extending in form of a ſemicircle, nearly from the coaſt of Florida to the river Oronoko, it might ſeem that, at ſome remote period, they had been detached from the great continent of America, either by the gradual and progreſſive power of the ocean, or by ſome great and

fudden convulfion of nature. But from their being of very irregular and mountainous furface, while the land of the proximate fhore is peculiarly low and flat, to a diftance of many miles from the coaft, it would appear that the iflands and the main land owned a diftinct, and very different origin. The craggy fhores, and rugged broken figure of the iflands befpeak the convulfive throes of a fudden birth; while the fmooth and muddy furface of the oppofite coaft indicates a lefs difturbed and flower beginning. Probably the latter has been formed from the gradual depofit of a feculent ocean—the former from the vehement vomitings of volcanic eruption.

Barbadoes is the moft windward of the Weft India Iflands; and is in that divifion of them known by the appellation of Charibbee Iflands—a name they have obtained from one of the nations of Indians, who formerly inhabited them.

It is about twenty-one miles in length, by fourteen in breadth; lying in latitude 13° North, longitude 59°. Weft. The Englifh

have occupied it nearly two centuries, having taken poſſeſſion of it in the reign of James I. At the time of being ſettled by our countrymen, it was covered with wood, and had no appearance of having been, before, occupied by man; but it now appears under a very different aſpect,—the deſtructive axe having converted its deep and heavy foreſts into even characteriſtic nakedneſs.

Weſt Indians regard it as of low and level ſurface: but this can be only comparatively ſpeaking, and in reference to the neighbouring iſlands whoſe bold ſummits pierce the ſkies: for Barbadoes has all the pleaſant variety afforded by hills and broken land, and, in ſome parts, is even mountainous, though leſs ſo than Grenada, St. Vincent, or St. Lucie.

It is conſidered as an old iſland, and, from having been long in cultivation, is ſaid to be much exhauſted, and wearing to decay. Thoſe concerned in the culture of more recent, and now more prolific colonies, ſeem to compaſſionate Barbadoes as the venerable and decrepit parent of the race; while its inhabitants pride themſelves upon its antiquity,

and, like the feudal lords of ſtill more ancient ſtates, aſſume a conſequence, I might almoſt ſay claim hereditary rank and privilege from priority of eſtabliſhment. This ſenſe of diſtinction is ſtrongly manifeſted in the ſentiment conveyed by the vulgar expreſſion ſo common in the iſland—"neither Charib, nor Creole, but true Barbadian," and which is participated even by the ſlaves, who proudly arrogate a ſuperiority above the negroes of the other iſlands! Aſk one of them if he was imported, or is a Creole, and he immediately replies—"*Me neder Chrab, nor Creole, Maſſa!—me troo Barbadian born.*"

Perhaps the late decline of this iſland may be ſtill leſs the effect of exhauſtion of the ſoil, than of the extenſive emigration, and the diverſion of commerce conſequent on the cultivation of new iſlands and colonies. In the early period of its culture Barbadoes yielded a produce, and gave riſe to an extent of commerce, not known in any other iſland, and its population increaſed to a degree, perhaps unprecedented in any part of the globe. Within the firſt fifty years the trade of the iſland had become ſufficient to employ four hundred

ſail of ſhipping; and the number of inhabitants amounted to no leſs than one hundred and fifty thouſand, being upwards of five hundred to every ſquare mile.

To enable the land to continue the bountiful produce it now afforded required much labour, and a great and expenſive ſupply of manure, therefore as new colonies were ſettled, and new land brought into cultivation, which was capable of yielding equal returns with leſs labour, and leſs of artificial ſupply, it became an object to individuals to emigrate from the neighbouring iſland of Barbadoes, and engage in the culture of the more recent, and leſs exhauſted ſettlements; and, thus, with the population, the commerce, which before had been confined to the parent iſland, was neceſſarily diverted into new and various channels.

At this day the Dutch colonies of Guiana, and the captured iſland of Martinique are a continual drain upon the population of Barbadoes. But notwithſtanding its decline from what it once was, it is ſtill the moſt populous, and one of the moſt important of our

West India possessions. From situation, and from its fine bay for shipping, even independent of its produce, it must ever be valuable to us, and indeed may be considered as the key of the West Indies. Some of the Creoles of the island, not barely sensible of this, commit the excess of attaching to it a degree of importance beyond even England itself.—"*What would poor old England do,*" say they, "*were Barbadoes to forsake her?*" This adage you will believe expresses only the veneration of the illiterate; but you will admit that it arises from a very natural feeling: for those who have seen but one spot readily fancy that to be of the first importance! And there are multitudes in Barbadoes who never saw any other soil, and who, no doubt, from the same laudable sentiment, which we so honor in Britons, regard their native isle as pre-eminent above all others.

Barbadoes contains a numerous class of inhabitants, between the great planters, and the people of colour, a circumstance which forms a striking difference between this island and the more recent colonies. Of these, many are descended from the original settlers, and have

no precise knowledge of the period when their anceſtors firſt arrived. Through ſeveral generations they have been born, and have conſtantly lived upon the iſland. They regard it as their native, and only abode, and do not, like their more wealthy neighbours, look to England as another and a better home. Of ſome of theſe old families I may, perhaps, ſpeak more particularly in another letter.

If in point of produce Barbadoes now yields to other ſettlements—if its population and commerce have decreaſed—if its thick woods have fallen before the rueful axe—and if its mountains are leſs aſpiring than the towering ſummits of ſome of the neighbouring iſlands; ſtill its trade and produce continue to be important; its population great; and the picturesque ſcenery of its ſurface, perhaps, unrivalled. Nor are theſe its only advantages; for, in conſequence of being more cleared, and more generally cultivated, than the other iſlands, its temperature is more equable, and its air more ſalubrious. Damp woods do not interrupt, nor ſtagnant moraſſes empoiſon the breeze. Every part is expoſed to the full perflation of the trade-wind; by the

coolneſs and ſalubrity of which, this is rendered the moſt healthful of the iſlands; inſomuch that it is common, in ſickneſs, to make a voyage from the other colonies to Barbadoes, as the Montpelier of the Weſt Indies. Being ſituated to windward of the other iſlands, it receives the uninterrupted breeze, brought to it in all its purity immediately from a wide extent of ocean, unimpregnated by the ſeptic exhalations of ſtagnant waters, or polluted ſoils.—Its temperature has been far leſs inconvenient than we had expected. We have felt but little oppreſſion from heat; and have continued our habits of exerciſe without interruption. In the harbour, and placed in the ſhade, the thermometer has ſeldom been higher than 84, and at no time has exceeded 86 degrees.

Yet bleſſed as the iſland is in its exemption from exceſſive heat, from noxious miaſmata, and from great and general ſickneſs, it has its peculiar ills; being viſited with an endemial affliction, ſo much its own as to have obtained the appellation of *the Barbadoes diſeaſe*. It appears in form of the elephantiaſis, or what is here termed the "glandular

diſeaſe,"—and is a moſt unſightly and diſtreſsful malady.

Bridge-town is the capital of the iſland, and is ſituated on the S. W. Bank of Carliſle bay, which is one of the fineſt harbours, for ſhipping, in the Weſt Indies; but is not conſidered to be ſecure during the hurricane ſeaſon. It derives its name from the circumſtance of a royal grant of the iſland having formerly been made to the Earl of Carliſle. The other towns are Speights-town, Auſtin-town, and Hole-town, all of which are much inferior to Bridge-town.

Both the ſcenery and the population of the iſland are more indebted to the number and variety of manſions, cottages, and huts, thickly ſpotted over its ſurface, than to its towns; which, as is too commonly the caſe in all countries, are built with leſs regard to general appearance, and the health of the inhabitants, than to the convenience of trade, and the profit of individuals.

On all quarters of the iſland are ſeen numbers of wind-mills, ſtore-houſes, and other

buildings for ſugar, coffee, and cotton, houſes of planters, the ſmaller dwellings of cottagers, and the huts of negroes, all of which improve the ſcenery, while they convey the idea of extenſive population, and delight the mind with images of rural enjoyment, and of generally diffuſed comfort and tranquillity. "The numerous buildings, together with their protecting ſhades about them—the luxuriant tropical vegetation—the conſtant verdure of the fields—the evergreen foliage of the trees—the broken irregular hills, lofty mountains, and cultivated rich-yielding plains—all ſurrounded with extenſive views of ſhipping, and the open ſea, create an effect more varied and intereſting than is often to be met with, and contribute to render Barbadoes a moſt pleaſant and pictureſque iſland: and from this, added to the examples I have given you of the hoſpitality, and friendly urbanity of its inhabitants, you will diſcover how highly it is calculated to call forth the attention, intereſt the feelings, and ſecure the attachment of thoſe who viſit it.

In ſpeaking to you of the ſituation of Barbadoes, it occurs to me to notice the confu-

ſion which has ariſen in the minds of individuals, from the term commonly employed to diſtinguiſh the two grand diviſions of our expedition. To diſcriminate what is literally the *windward* army from that intended for St. Domingo, we hear it denominated the "*Leeward*-Iſland" diviſion, than which it had been difficult to have found a term more pointedly incorrect. If the diſtinction be intended with regard to the courſe of the trade wind, it ſhould have been directly the reverſe, for the iſlands, occupied by the troops of what is called the "*Leeward*-Iſland" armament, happen with reſpect to St. Domingo to be every one very far to *windward!* If the term regard only the common nautical diviſion of the Charibbee iſlands themſelves, it is ſtill inappropriate, for the windward, no leſs than the leeward of theſe iſlands, are poſſeſſed by what is termed the *leeward* army.

Any perſon conſulting a map of the Weſt Indies muſt diſcover St. Domingo to be among the moſt leeward of the iſlands, and would neceſſarily be led to conclude that the *Leeward-Iſland diviſion*, was the St. Domingo diviſion, *i. e.* that they were ſynonymous, for

no one could imagine that the troops occupying Barbadoes, and the more immediately neighbouring iſlands, could belong to an army deſignated "*Leeward*," in contradiſtinction to the army of St. Domingo. Perhaps the terms Charibbee Iſland diviſion, and St. Domingo diviſion had been more accurate.

Led by this circumſtance we have taken ſome pains to inform ourſelves, which are the iſlands known under the term "Leeward," acing to the common acceptation: but we find this to be a queſtion of difficult ſolution; almoſt every one dividing them differently! Scarcely any two perſons, from whom we have ſought intelligence, have given the ſame reply; nor does it ſeem to be accurately known where the line ſhould be drawn. Some regard the diſtinction as reſpecting only the direction of the trade wind: ſome derive it from the courſe taken by the ſhips from Spain to Carthagena; and others, from various other ſources and circumſtances; yet all agree that Barbadoes is the moſt to windward; and all allow that the Charibbee iſlands are leſs to leeward than St. Domingo.

But to return to my notes concerning Barbadoes! I have before remarked to you the principal variations of its ſoil:—near Bridgetown it is of rich black earth, moſtly ſpread on a baſe of calcareous rock, formed of madripores, and other marine concretions: in ſome diſtricts it is of a red earth, of greater depth, but leſs rich: in others the ſoil is of a light whitiſh earth, broken into a grey-looking mould, or hardened into lumps reſembling chalk—but actually conſiſting of indurated argille, bleached by expoſure to the weather.

From this variety in the ſoil, together with that which attaches to ſituation, as being flat, or mountainous,—protected, or expoſed, it will neceſſarily happen, that the produce will differ in different parts of the iſland: and as the whole has been long under cultivation, it is manifeſt that if a ſupply of manure, proportionate to the crops obtained, cannot be procured, a degree of exhauſtion, bearing a certain ratio to the deficiency, muſt reſult.

It is eſtabliſhed, from the mode of agriculture adopted in ſome counties of England, that, by an adequate ſupply of manure, land

may be continued in a conſtant round of cultivation, yielding as prolific crops as upon its earlieſt culture; and this is now found to be no leſs certain, than that if the land be ſubjected to continued tillage, without ſuch ſupply, it will be ſo exhauſted, in the courſe of a few years, as not to give ſufficient produce to compenſate the labour and expence of cultivation.

The ſame facts equally apply to Barbadoes, where, if the artificial ſupply be not commenſurate with the produce removed from the land, a gradual diminution of the crops will ſucceed, or, in order to have theſe in their uſual abundance, the acres in cultivation muſt be reduced to ſuch a number as the iſland ſhall be capable of furniſhing with an adequate quantity of manure; and we accordingly find that great herds of a ſmall ſpecies of cattle, moſtly ſteers, are kept upon the plantations, for the purpoſe of ſupplying this indiſpenſable addition to the ſoil. Theſe are employed inſtead of horſes in the heavy labour of the eſtate, and we often ſee from twelve to twenty-four of them yoked in a waggon, drawing a ſingle hogſhead of ſugar, or ſome other ſmall load, ſuch as in

London would be conveyed with facility by two horſes in a cart.

At night the cattle are penned upon a bed of traſh, collected from the refuſe of the canes and other waſte materials of the eſtate, by treading upon which, and mixing it with their own dung, they trample the whole into an uſeful compoſt for the fields.

It neceſſarily follows from ſuch numbers of theſe cattle being required, for the purpoſe of manuring the land, that a greater ſupply of beef and veal is raiſed for the markets, and that freſh proviſions are more plentiful than in moſt of the other colonies. Of the cuſtom of buying the veal in live quarters for the pot I have already ſpoken—and I may now remark that the beef is too commonly killed very young—forming neither beef nor veal, but a ſomething of flavor and appearance between the two.

The ſeaſons here are not divided into winter and ſummer, but into wet and dry: yet are they, by no means, what many from theſe terms would believe, who might imagine

that half the year is drowned with inceſſant rain, and the other half parched with conſtant drought. Such a conſtruction of the terms *wet* ſeaſon, and *dry* ſeaſon, though not unfrequent, is far from correct, and leads to a very inaccurate idea of the climate; for, although it has been the dry ſeaſon, during the whole time we have been at Barbadoes, we have ſcarcely had two ſucceſſive days without refreſhing rain: although the ſhowers are not ſo heavy at this period as at that of their greater frequency, termed the wet ſeaſon, when the torrent which falls might often convey the idea of a ſudden rupture of the clouds, letting forth their waters *in ſtreams* to the earth.

The quick evaporation which ſucceeds to rain in theſe climates creates a moſt agreeable and refreſhing coolneſs. The extreme ardor of the ſun's rays is alſo counteracted by the ever-grateful breeze, which ſets in from the ſea about eight or nine o'clock in the morning, and continues throughout the day, ceaſing only as the ſun forſakes us at evening; when we are again defended from oppreſſive languor by a breeze ſpringing up from the land. This ſets in as the ſea-breeze ſubſides, and di-

verging, as it were from a central point, is felt on all quarters of the iſland.

Without theſe beneficent proviſions of nature no tropical climate could have been habitable: nor does that great parent in any thing more admirably diſplay her guardian care, nor more ſtrikingly exhibit the univerſal conſiſtency, or the happy order and arrangement of her works. The intenſe heat between the tropics muſt have been deſtructive to animal life, had not an antidote been offered in the refreſhing trades; which, forming the ſuite of a burning ſun, moderate the effects of his too effulgent rays.

The day is nearly of equal length throughout the whole circle of the year. We have none of the ſhort dark days of an Engliſh winter, nor of the ſtill ſhorter light nights of a Scottiſh ſummer. Nights of one or two hours, and days of ſix or ſeven are here equally unknown: until nearly the hour of ſix fair Aurora opens not her gates to ſpread around her eaſtern beams, and ſolemn Veſper, with little variation throughout the year, cloſes the ſpangled brightneſs of the weſt.

about the hour of ſeven. Evening is ſcarcely known. The ſun traverſing his vertical courſe ſinks at once from the horizon, and, refuſing his oblique beams to protract or ſoften the decline of day, robs us of the gentle crepuſcule hour, and ſuddenly throws around all the obſcurity of night.

This uniformity of the diurnal round ſcarcely exceeds that of the general temperature of the climate, which brings us one perpetual ſummer. The fields and the trees are always green. Live nature ever ſmiles. Uninterrupted by the torpor of winter ſhe is neither chilled with froſt, nor buried in ſnow. But, for theſe advantages, we forego the ſprightly delight, and genial comfort of a ſummer's evening, the all-animating pleaſures of a returning ſpring, and the ſoft and placid joys of gentle twilight's hour. Had I time for ſuch diſcuſſions, I might here enter into a long digreſſion upon the comparative excellence of the climate we have left, and that we now inhabit: yet ſhould I yield the palm to my native iſland, for of all the delights of climate in other countries, however great or durable, I know none that can ſtand in competition

with the ſweet and animated ſoftneſs of England's ſpring.

Of this ſoul-enchanting ſeaſon the effect, no doubt, is much heightened by its periodical return; and from its ſucceeding to the chilling blaſts, and all the long and dreary ſuſpenſion occaſioned by winter. It is in fact the reſuſcitation of nature, and is calculated univerſally to enliven,—while it forms the high repaſt of feeling and contemplative minds.

What combination—what ſcenery can man contemplate capable of affording the tender delight felt in a ſolitary ramble, acroſs the rich and neat encloſures of England, at the happy period, when nature, reanimated by the genial orb of May, diſplays, in gentle mildneſs, all her lovelieſt form, and regales every ſenſe with her ſofteſt banquets! Perhaps no ſcene is known ſo ſweetly grateful—none that ſo calms the boſom with ſoft feelings of peace and comfort, or that miniſters ſuch copious ſtreams of genuine delight. All around unites in ſweeteſt harmony. The eye, the olfactories, the ear, the very ſenſes

of feeling, and of taste—all are gratified. The fields, spread with green-shooting herbage, appear enchantingly variegated with the cowslip, the yellow crocus, and the daisy. While the fleecy herd patiently crop the succulent plant, the young lambs are seen skipping, innocent and playful, at the sides of their dams. The hedges protrude the verdant bud and swelling blossom to dress their chilly nakedness, and the trees, casting off the dull coat of winter, assume the soft livery of the season. The fragrant odours of the apple blossom, the hawthorn, and the violet are exhaled around—the blackbird, the thrush, and the nightingale, warbling soft carols amidst the budding bushes, enchant the ear. The very organs of taste are regaled with freshness from the mild salubrious breeze; and to the whole frame a genial feeling is imparted by the fostering rays of a temperate and cheering sun.

In mental retrospect do I oft-times contemplate a scene which every Englishman of feeling must have frequently enjoyed. Taking him from the busy hum of the world, my fancy leads the lover of nature into the en-

clofed fields of England, in one of the mild mornings of May, and feating him under a green-budding hedge, upon a moffy and fun-warmed bank, furrounded with violets, bids him look down the floping mead to the crooked brook which winds in gentle current along the bottom, and there behold the thick wood of the oppofite bank, reflecting the dark femblance of its branches in the ftream, and burfting forth its protecting foliage to conceal the harmonic fongfters of the feafon. It alfo directs his eye to the green carpet of fhooting herbage, enriched with the tender cowflip and the humble daify, and invites his regard to the playful innocence of the young lambkins fkipping before him. To his ear it conveys grateful melody in the bleating of diftant herds; the lively whiftling of contented hinds; or the happy milk maid's fimple fong:— even the loud cawing of the rooks perched on the lofty elms, the foft note of the innocent robin hopping under the hedge, and the very chirpings of the merry fparrow excite congenial feelings, and improve the general harmony—while the bright fun, occafionally obfcured by fleeting clouds, exhibits the varied interchanges of light and

ſhade, and gives a higher intereſt to all around. Having thus placed him, appealing fancy earneſtly demands if any thing in the eternal ſummer of other regions can equal the ſoft delight—the genial harmony of ſoul and ſentiment inſpired by this tender vernal ſcene?

Some fair friends of ours would place at his ſide the miſtreſs of his heart, and thus give perfection to his happineſs, as Buffon perfects the exiſtence of his infant of maturity. But excuſe me, ye fair, ſhould I hazard the ſuggeſtion whether to be left alone, to think and wiſh towards her, might in ſuch a ſituation be leſs ſoul-delighting; for anticipation is ſaid to ſweeten our higheſt joys, and, perhaps, it were the very life and eſſence of ſuch-like moments to feel the *tender privation* of having yet a ſomething to wiſh, and to hope.

Regularity observed at Barbadoes in regard to rising and going to rest. Land and sea breeze. Diet and mode of serving the table. Planters and merchants sometimes grow fat: clerks, book-keepers, &c. very thin. Condiments much used. Plenty deemed a greater excellence than delicacy of assortment at a Barbadoes feast. A West India dinner. English habit of driving ladies from the dinner table practised also at Barbadoes. Bad arrangement of dinner parties. Attendants of the table numerous. Odour of the Negroes offensive. Stock and provisions abundant at Barbadoes. Personal clothing of the inhabitants—Bed clothing. Languid pronunciation of Barbadoes Creoles. Concerning the state of the slaves. Old and decrepit Negroes allowed to beg, and to lie about the streets. First example of slaves seen by the author and his comrades. The Negroes of the poorer owners distinguished from those of the more opulent. Clothing of slaves. Construction of their dwellings. Negroes chilly, and hover round a fire in the evening;—are fond of smoking tobacco. Food issued to the slaves. Pepper pot. Hours of toil. Deficiency of moral principle among slaves.

April 8.

THE uniform returns of day and night in this climate appear to induce a regularity of habit in the hours of rising, and going to rest. It is common to leave the pillow at six in the morning, and few persons remain out of bed after [redacted] at night. The coolest

and most pleasant part of the day is from six to about half-past seven o'clock in the morning: about eight an oppressive closeness is often experienced, arising from the decline of the land breeze, before that from the sea has become sufficiently strong to diffuse its influence. A similar period, likewise, occurs at evening, between the abatement of the sea breeze and the setting in of the breeze from the land. Some days the closeness of these hours is so slight, as to be scarcely perceptible, but commonly they are by far the most oppressive of the twenty-four.

Respecting the mode of living it may be remarked that in all countries said to be civilized, and among all people calling themselves cultivated, too much of time and attention are devoted to the business of eating and drinking. Perhaps the majority of diseases in social life may be traced to this source. Were it possible to convey, in a single sentence, the frightful train of ills, the melancholy interruptions of health, and the immense consumption of time, thus produced, men would be shocked to read it! They would be terrified to behold

the magnitude of an abuſe, to which, unheeding, they had ſo long been devoted. This remark but too correctly applies to the iſland from whence I am addreſſing you, and where, from the degree of indolence induced by tropical heat, the ingeſta taken to exceſs may be expected in a peculiar degree to oppreſs the human frame.

The people of Barbadoes are much addicted to the pleaſures of the table. We have ſometimes thought that, in eating, they might put to the bluſh even the turtle countenances of our London fat citizens.

The breakfaſt uſually conſiſts of tea and coffee, or chocolate, with eggs, ham, tongue, or other cold meat. Bread is ſeldom uſed, but ſubſtitutes are found in roaſted yams or eddoes, both of which a good deal reſemble roaſted potatoes. They are uſed hot, and eaten with butter, which is ſometimes made in the country, but more frequently barrelled and brought from Ireland; that made in the iſland being of cream-like ſoftneſs, and not always of good flavor. In the courſe of the forenoon are uſed fruits, or ſandwiches, with

free libations of punch and ſangaree. Immediately preceding dinner, which is uſually at an early hour, are taken punch and man-dram. The dinner, for the moſt part, is profuſe, and many hours are commonly paſſed at table in full and buſy occupation.

After a more than plentiful conſumption of food, a free indulgence in fruit, and a bounteous ſupply of wine and other good liquors, to crown the repaſt, the appetite and thirſt are further provoked by a diſh of ſprats, or other broiled fiſh, and a large bowl of milk punch. Tea and coffee are next ſerved—and laſtly comes the ſupper, which forms no trifling meal. After this the bottle, the glaſs, and the punch-bowl know no reſt, until the ſilent hour when Morpheus, with rival powers, dethrones the Bacchanalian god.

From the nature of the climate we had expected to have found the inhabitants men of meager figure, half diſſolved in perſpiration, and exhauſted almoſt to ſhadows: nor, indeed, are ſuch figures rare, but they are to be found, moſtly, among the clerks, the book-keepers, and thoſe orders of white people below the

managers—thoſe who are employed in active and buſy occupation, and have but little time to devote to indolence and the luxuries of the table. Among the merchants and planters are many of as fat and portly figure as well-fed aldermen; to whom, indeed, they are ſcarcely ſecond in Epicurean devotion.

We obſerve that condiments are uſed very generally, and in great quantity. Acting as ſtimulants they appear to have the effect of cauſing the relaxed and enfeebled ſtomach to receive and to digeſt more than it would, otherwiſe, require—more, indeed, than it would, otherwiſe, take. The various ſpecies of red pepper, known in England under the common term *Cayenne*, are uſed in quantities that would ſeem incredible to people of colder climates.

A mixture of food is often taken, of a nature ſcarcely leſs heterogeneous than is commonly conſumed at the varied feaſt of a French appetite; and with this melange of ſolids, are uſed wine, punch, porter, cyder, noyeau, and other good liquors in free libation—yet are there ſpecimens of health and,

vigour, amidſt all theſe indulgences, which might ſtagger the doctrines of the advocates of abſtemiouſneſs.

In the order of the feaſt plenty more prevails than elegance. The loaded board groans, nay almoſt ſinks beneath the weight of hoſpitality. That delicacy of arrangement now ſtudied in England, under the term œconomy of the table, is here deemed a leſs perfection than a ſubſtantial plenty. Liberality is more eſteemed than delicacy in the ſupply; and ſolids are, ſometimes, heaped upon the table in a crowded abundance that might make a London fine lady faint.

The repaſt not unfrequently conſiſts of different kinds of fiſh—a variety of ſoups—a young kid—a whole lamb, or half a ſheep—ſeveral diſhes of beef, or mutton—a turkey—a large ham—guinea fowls—and a pigeon pie; with various kinds of puddings; a profuſion of vegetables; and multitudes of ſweets. I was lately one of a ſmall party, where, preciſely, this dinner was ſerved, and where the half of a ſheep, kicking its legs almoſt in the face of the maſter of the houſe, adorned the

bottom of the table—forming the moſt unſeemly diſh I ever beheld.

Perhaps we may find it to be common to the Weſt Indies, but, hitherto, it has appeared to us peculiar to Barbadoes—to put on table three or four large ſubſtantial puddings of different kinds, and four or five diſhes of the ſame ſort of meat, differently dreſſed. Unaccuſtomed to this, an Engliſh eye, on looking into the dining room, is ſurprized at the continuation of mutton, mutton, mutton, pudding, pudding, pudding, from one end of the table to the other, and which the crowd of other good things ſeems to render unneceſſary.

The generous board is often ſupplied wholly from the produce of the eſtate, and on the occaſion of giving an entertainment it is not unuſual to kill an ox, a ſheep, or, literally, the fatted calf: hence it occurs that various diſhes of the ſame kind of food, under different forms, ſometimes make up the principal part of the dinner, and, thus, it becomes explained why we ſometimes ſee upon table, at the ſame time, roaſted mutton, mutton ragout,

boiled mutton, mutton chops, and a mutton pie. The puddings moſtly uſed are of citron, coco-nut, yam, lemon, and cuſtard, and do great credit* to the Barbadoes cookery-book. The deſert is not leſs plenteous than the dinner, conſiſting of a variety of fruits, and preſerves, ſerved in crowded ſupply. The bottle and glaſs paſs freely, and the fluids are in full proportion to the ſolids of the feaſt.

The liquors moſt in uſe are Madeira and claret wines, punch, ſangaree, porter, and cyder. Punch and ſangaree are commonly taken as the *diluents* of the morning. The latter forms a moſt delightful drink. A glaſs of it, taken when parching with thirſt, from heat and fatigue, may be ranked among the higheſt gratifications of our nature! At ſuch a moment, a draught of ſangaree approaches nearer, perhaps, to god-like nectar, than any other known liquor. It conſiſts of half Madeira wine and half water, acidulated with the fragrant lime, ſweetened with ſugar, and flavored with nutmeg. A ſtronger ſort of it is ſometimes drank under the ſuperlative name of *ſangrorum* This differs from the former,

only in containing a greater proportion of wine.

The too prevalent English custom of *sending away* the ladies, or, according to the politer term, of the ladies *retiring* after dinner, for the gentlemen *to enjoy* their bottle, prevails also at Barbadoes; and, we have thought, even to a greater extreme than in England. They leave us very soon after dinner, and, often, we see no more of them during the evening. Frequently they do not, even, join us before dinner; but we find them all assembled, at the head of the table, when we enter the dining room; and, even there, we have little of their company, for the party is often so badly arranged, that we have scarcely more of the society of the ladies, and the people of the island, than if we had remaind on board ship. Instead of the different persons being, pleasantly, intermixed, it is too common to see the ladies grouped together in a crowd at the upper end of the table—the officers and strangers, just arrived from Europe, placed at one side,—and the gentlemen of the island, who are mutual and familiar acquaintances, at the other side—implying that it is considered a

rule of politeneſs to place each perſon neareſt to thoſe with whom he is beſt acquainted. But this arrangement confines the converſation of each perſon, too much, to thoſe with whom he is in the daily habit of aſſociating. To me, it is always a diſappointment, for I can converſe with my comrades in my uſual round, when ſtrangers are not nigh; but, when thrown into ſociety, in a foreign country, I always feel a deſire for the converſation of the people reſiding therein, expecting to obtain information from them, both of the country itſelf, and of the manners and cuſtoms of its inhabitants.

The attendants at the dinner table are very numerous. In addition to thoſe of the family, almoſt every gentleman has his own ſlave; and, thus, it often happens that the room is quite crowded with ſable domeſtics, whoſe ſurfaces emit an odour not leſs ſavory than the richeſt diſhes of the board. How long it may be before our olfactories become reconciled to this high-ſeaſoning of a Weſt India feaſt I cannot conjecture; but, at preſent, we find it extremely offenſive. Poor Maſter is particularly annoyed by it, and

always takes care to obtain a ſeat as much *to windward* as poſſible. Cleghorn and myſelf ſuffer no leſs from a moſt filthy cuſtom of the negroes—of taking a plate from the ſide-board, before it is wanted, and ſtanding with it under the arm, ready to give it the moment a change is required. On account of this dirty habit, we are obliged to attend with eagle watchfulneſs to avoid receiving as a clean one, a plate which a ſlave has been holding for ſome time cloſely preſſed to, certainly, not the ſweeteſt part of his naked ſkin.

In its ſupply of freſh proviſions, particularly what is here termed *ſtock*, ſuch as poultry and the like, Barbadoes exhibits a degree of plenty unknown in the neighbouring iſlands. This would ſeem to be the happy effect of allowing the ſlaves to raiſe poultry for ſale; together with there being a number of ſmall ſettlers, diſtributed about the country, who find their ſupport chiefly in breeding ſtock for the markets. Poultry has been our principal food. Turkies, guinea fowls, and chickens, we have had in great abundance. When we arrived, in the month of February, they were ſold in the public market at little

more than a bit (about 5½d.) per pound, but from the increaſed demand conſequent upon the arrival of ſo many troops, and ſuch crowds of ſhipping, the price is now raiſed to nearly double. The Moſcovy ducks are alſo bred in great numbers upon the Iſland, and are ſo large as to appear like geeſe, when dreſſed for the table. Next to poultry they have, veal and pork in the greateſt plenty. In Bridge-town they have alſo a fiſh-market, which at times is well ſupplied, but not ſo regularly, as, from the inſular ſituation of the country, might be expected.

Of the immenſe quantity of poultry raiſed on this little iſland, you will form ſome idea, when I tell you that not only the ſhips of war, and the tranſports, but moſt of the Weſt India trading ſhips, recruit their ſtock at Barbadoes; and that in addition to this conſtant and extenſive drain it furniſhes occaſional ſupplies to the other Iſlands. Since we have been in Carliſle bay, we have ſeen, at various times, great quantities of ſtock ſhipped for the Iſland of Martinique.

In point of clothing the people of Barbadoes deviate leſs from the habits of England

than the difference of climate would seem to warrant. Their dress resembles that worn in our more northern latitude, being for the most part a cloth coat, with white cotton waistcoat, and nankeen pantaloons. In some instances people of very active employment, or those who are much exposed in the fields, have the whole suit made of nankeen. Their night clothing seems more appropriate to the greater heat of climate than the apparel of the day. It is common to sleep on a hard mattress in a long cotton shirt, without any other covering, except in the coolest season, when they make the slight addition of a simple cotton sheet.

One of the most prominent characteristics of the island is the tedious languor in which the people of Barbadoes pronounce their words. Nothing perhaps is more annoying to strangers. To convey to you, by the pen, any idea of their manner of speaking is utterly impossible:—to be comprehended, it must be heard. The languid syllables are drawled out as if it were a great fatigue to utter them; and the tortured ear of an European grows irritable and impatient in waiting for

the end of a word, or a ſentence. "*How you do to da—ay,*" ſpoken by a Barbadian creole, conſumes nearly as much time as might ſuffice for all the compliments of the morning! nor is this weariſome pronunciation confined to the people of colour only. It occurs, likewiſe, among the whites, particularly thoſe who have not viſited Europe, or reſided for ſome time away from the iſland. In the ſame lengthened accent do the lower orders of Barbadians, in unreſtrained impetuous rage, pour forth vollies of uncommonly dreadful oaths, which, in their horrible combinations and epithets, form imprecations ſo ſtrikingly impious, as to entitle them to the *merit* of peculiarity.

In manner, alſo, and in movement, as well as in ſpeech, a degree of indolence and inaction prevails, beyond what might be expected, merely from heat of climate, and which has in it a ſomething extremely annoying to Europeans.

The ſtate of the negroes in Barbadoes varies, as the ſtate of ſlaves muſt ever do, ac-

cording to the diſpoſition and circumſtances of the maſter. Under ſuch benevolent and humane characters as Mr. Waith, and many others whom we have viſited, they may juſtly feel themſelves a favored race, for their ſituation might be envied by the poor of nations, where freedom is better known! But under ſevere and cruel maſters it becomes a ſtate of ceaſeleſs vexation, and miſery.

On the very important queſtion of general ſlavery I do not feel that my experience, hitherto, in the Weſt Indies, either warrants me to ſpeak with confidence, or enables me to judge with accuracy. But I will take care to note for you ſuch facts as, from time to time, ſhall occur to my obſervation, and may ſome day, perhaps, obey your commands, by giving you the reflections they create in a ſeparate letter.

Very much to the diſcredit of Barbadoes numbers of old, diſeaſed, decrepit negroes, at once, objects of compaſſion, and of horror, are ſeen lying at the corners, or begging about the ſtreets. This, like the toleration of the ſwarms of mendicants in England, is an evil, and a nuiſance, for which there is no excuſe. If theſe

poor unfortunate negroes are free, they ſhould be relieved by a general tax upon the iſland: if ſlaves, the law ſhould compel every maſter to provide for his own. Should the laws of humanity be inſufficient, and thoſe of juſtice inadequate, a law of coercion ſhould conſtrain the unfeeling owner to protect and cheriſh the being, whoſe youth and vigour have been expended for his benefit; and who, having worn out his days, in the heavy toils of bondage, is grown aged and infirm!

What can be ſo unworthy! what ſo culpable or diſgraceful, as the cruel inhumanity and ſordid injuſtice, which render a maſter capable of neglecting in old age, the ſlave from whom he has exacted all the labour of youth, and all the vigour of manhood! Perhaps nothing pourtrays in more melancholy demonſtration, the poſſible depravity of the human heart! No longer able to exert himſelf to his owner's profit, the aged ſlave enfeebled by years, and exhauſted by toil, is left to beg his *yam* from door to door!—abandoned by his cruel maſter he is a penſioner upon promiſcuous charity, or is allowed to fall a prey to diſeaſe, and to want!

Without ſome compulſory law the ſlaves of the avaricious and of the lower orders, who are, themſelves, ſcarcely removed from indigence, muſt ever be ſubject to this hard lot of neglect and cruelty.

The firſt ſpecimen we ſaw of Weſt India negroes—the firſt example of ſlaves was ſingularly calculated to impreſs us with ſentiments of compaſſion and diſguſt. It occurred at the very moment too when the impreſſion would be moſt powerful, and conſequently will ever remain indelible. Immediately on our coming to anchor in Carliſle bay, a woman appeared alongſide the ſhip in a ſmall boat with ſome bad fruit, tobacco, ſalt fiſh, and other articles of traffic. She was rowed by two negroes, who, we learned, were her ſlaves. Two ſuch objects of human form and human miſery had never before met our eyes! They were feeble, meager, and dejected—half-ſtarved, and half-naked; and, in figure, too accurately reſembling hungry and diſtempered grey-hounds! They crouched upon their heels and haunches in the boat—their naked bones almoſt pierced their filthy and eruptive ſkins—their waſted frames trembled with debility—and while their hol-

low eyes and famiſhed countenances rendered them ghaſtly images of horror, their whole appearance ſhocked humanity, and appalled the ſight!——Are theſe, we exclaimed, what are called ſlaves? Is this the ſtate to which human beings are reduced in bondage?—Afflicting and cruel indeed! Well may ſlavery be deemed a curſe! Can it be poſſible that theſe ſpectres once were men! Are ſuch the objects we are to ſee—are theſe the wretched and deplorable beings who are to appear every day, and every hour before our eyes? Forbid it humanity: forbid it heaven!—Such was the apoſtrophe of the moment, and I feel a ſincere gratification in being able to inform you that the melancholy ſubjects of this firſt impreſſion were not correct ſpecimens of the general maſs of ſlaves. Still is it grievous that any ſuch examples ſhould be ſeen, but we hope to find them only rare inſtances, for we learn that the large gangs of negroes kept by the great merchants, and the planters, are generally treated with kindneſs and humanity, and appear contented and in comfort.

But it is eaſy to diſtinguiſh the ſlaves of the opulent and reſpectable inhabitants from

those of the poor and needy people of the town. The latter, being in poverty themſelves, can only give to their negroes a ſcanty allowance of food; while their indigence induces them to exact an over-proportion of labour. Hence the ſlaves of this claſs of people appear too often with ſharp bones and hungry flavid countenances, having eruptions about the body, and their ſkins of an unhealthy obfuſcate hue. Their general appearance indeed is dirty and unwholeſome, and ſtrikingly marks their neglected ſtate. Want and wretchedneſs are deeply ſtamped in every line of their perſons—and they may not inaptly be ſaid to reſemble the worn-out horſe, or the ſtarved and jaded aſs, too often ſeen trembling under a heavy burden—or, reeling in an old tattered cart upon the roads of England.

It is not the practice to load the ſlaves with ſuperfluity of clothing.—A ſhirt, and a pair of breeches, or only the latter, for the men; and a ſingle petticoat for the women, conſtitute the whole apparel.—Bedding and bed-clothes find no place in their liſt of neceſſaries: they uſually ſleep on a hard plank, in the clothing of the day. Repoſe is both,

enſured and ſweetened to them by labour—and the head needs no pillow but the arm. Some who, by means of induſtry and œconomy, are more advanced in their little comforts, procure a kind of matting, a paillaſſe of plantain leaves, or ſome other ſpecies of bedding, to defend them from the rough plank; but this is an indulgence ſelf-attained, not a neceſſary provided by the maſter. The architecture of their little huts is as rude as it is ſimple. A roof of plantain leaves, with a few rough boards, nailed to the coarſe pillars which ſupport it, forms the whole building.—The leeward-ſide is commonly left in part open, and the roof projects to ſome diſtance over the door-way, forming a defence againſt both the ſun and the rain.

Notwithſtanding the great heat experienced by Europeans, the negroes feel the evenings chilly, and we frequently ſee them crowding round the bit of fire which they make for cooking their ſupper. This is commonly in the open air near to the door of the hut; but they ſometimes place it upon the middle of the dirt floor withinſide the building—where they ſeem to have great enjoyment in ſquat-

ting round it, amidſt the thick cloud of ſmoke, to whiff additional fumes from the ſhort pipe or ſagar, and to join in loud and merry ſong.

Smoking is an univerſal cuſtom among them. In order to be at all moments provided for this enjoyment, they carry in their breeches pocket a ſhort pipe, about an inch in length from the bowl; or inſtead of this a leaf of tobacco rolled into a ſagar. Very often the pipe is ſo ſhort, or the ſagar ſo cloſely ſmoked away, as to be in danger of burning the noſe, or even the lips. I have frequently ſeen them ſmoking with the pipe ſo ſhort as to hold it in the mouth by preſſing with the lips upon the lower part of the bowl. They often kindle their pipes from one another's mouths, by putting bowl to bowl and noſe to noſe, and ſmoking into each others eyes, until the tobacco has taken fire.

The food of the negroes is iſſued to them weekly, under the inſpection of the manager. It is very ſimple and but little varied; breakfaſt, dinner, and ſupper being ſimilar to each other, and for the moſt part the ſame throughout the year. It conſiſts moſtly of Guinea

corn, with a ſmall bit of ſalt meat—or ſalt fiſh. Formerly a bunch of plantains was given to each ſlave as the weekly allowance; but the plantain walks being moſtly worn out, this is become an expenſive proviſion. Rice, maize, yams, eddoes, and ſweet potatoes form an occaſional change, but the Guinea corn is, commonly, iſſued as the weekly ſupply; and in order to obtain ſome variety of food, they barter this in exchange for other proviſions, or ſell it for money, and with that buy ſalt meat or vegetables. We occaſionally ſee them offering the Guinea corn for ſale; and on being aſked why they ſell it, they thus expreſs themſelves—"Me no like for have him Guinea corn always! Maſſa gib me Guinea corn too much—Guinea corn to-day—Guinea corn to-morrow—Guinea corn eb'ry day—Me no like him Guinea corn—him Guinea corn no good for gnhyaam."

The weekly ſupply being iſſued to them on the Sunday, it becomes their own care how to huſband it ſo as to have a ſufficiency of food until the following Sabbath. Thoſe who are induſtrious have little additions of their own, either from vegetables grown on

the ſpot of ground allotted to them, or purchaſed with the money obtained for the pig, the goat, or other ſtock raiſed about their huts in the negro yard.

A meſs of pottage, or very hot ſoup, called pepper-pot, is one of their favorite diſhes, and one indeed which is generally eſteemed by the inhabitants, and by ſtrangers. It is prepared by ſtewing various kinds of vegetables with a bit of ſalt meat, or ſalt fiſh, and ſeaſoning it very high with capſicum, or ſome ſpecies of the red pepper. The vegetable, called ſquaſhes, is much uſed in theſe pepper pots. Bread, which is eſteemed ſo eſſential, and held as the ſtaff of life by the people of Europe, is unknown among the ſlaves of the Weſt Indies: nor, indeed, is it in common uſe among their maſters, but they find very excellent ſubſtitutes in the yam, the caſſada, and the eddoe.

The common round of labour of the ſlaves is from ſun-riſe to ſun-ſet, having intervals of reſt allowed them, at the times of breakfaſt, and dinner.

The negroes are generally sad thieves; they appear to know no sense of honesty. Ignorant of all moral principle, they steal without feeling any sense of wrong, and without any apprehension, except that of being detected. The planters are obliged to employ one or two of the most trusty of them in the capacity of watchmen to guard, by close and constant attention, the orchards, plantain walks, provision stores, and the like, from the depredations of their own and their neighbour's slaves. Although they have no remorse in stealing whensoever and wheresoever opportunity offers, still they feel peculiarly prone to robbing their masters; and this they do not even consider a theft, as is too evident by an expression very common among them, viz. "*Me no tief him: me take him from Massa.*"

Concerning the elephantiasis, or endemial malady of Barbadoes.

April 9.

In ſpeaking to you of the exemption of Barbadoes from great and deſtructive ſickneſs, I remarked that, although it eſcaped ſome general ills, it was viſited with an afflictive malady peculiarly its own. As this forms a characteriſtic feature of the country, and cannot but attract the notice, and excite the curioſity of ſtrangers, you would not excuſe me were I to neglect offering you a few words upon the ſubject.

The diſeaſe is the *elephantiaſis*—called by ſome the "*glandular diſeaſe*," but, by the many, deſignated ſimply the "*Barbadoes diſeaſe*." It commonly appears in the form of an enormous and frightful enlargement of one or both legs; but occaſionally affects other parts, particularly the ſcrotum, which becomes increaſed to a

ſurprizing bulk. When once eſtabliſhed, it is extremely difficult to remove, and for the moſt part proves to be incurable. It affects the general health, leſs than might be expected, and frequently exiſts for many years without ſeeming materially to impair the conſtitution; often, indeed, the perſon attacked with it bears it about throughout the remainder of a long life. It is moſtly ſeen among the negroes, but it is too common alſo among the creole whites, and even ſuffers not the Europeans to eſcape. Although ſo frequent in Barbadoes, as to be held in a great degree peculiar or endemial, it is not wholly confined to this country: ſome inſtances of being ſeen in the neighbouring iſlands.

It would ſeem not to have been ſo prevalent as it now is from any very diſtant period of time; for about the year 1760 died at Barbadoes a man named Francis Briggs, more commonly known by the fictitious appellation of Chriſtopher Columbus, who, from the uncommon and monſtrous appearance of his legs, had been repreſented as the bug-bear or object of terror for the purpoſe of frightening children.

Male and female, young, middle-aged, and old, black and white, are now all ſubject to its attack; and, in walking the ſtreets, the eye is diſtreſſed, at almoſt every corner, with the appearance of this hideous deformity.

The diſeaſe uſually begins with an affection of the inguinal glands, from whence a red ſtreak, or line of inflammation extends down the limb, in the direction of the lymphatic veſſels; the part affected becoming tumefied, and taking on a ſhining and œdematous appearance. The ſwelling gradually occupies the whole of the leg, increaſing until, in many inſtances, the limb is more than double its ordinary ſize. The ſkin aſſumes a morbid appearance, grows rough and ſcaly, or is covered with irregular wart-like riſings. In ſome caſes deep belts or indentations appear in various parts of the tumor, as if formed by the preſſure of ligatures; in others the ſwelling bulges out in a number of irregular protruſions; ſometimes, from extreme diſtenſion, the ſkin ruptures or breaks into cracks and fiſſures, and a watery fluid oozes out, which on expoſure to the air grows gelatinous upon the ſurface. The foot frequently partakes

of the diſeaſe: but in many caſes the immenſe tumor of the leg terminates abruptly at the ancle, hanging over the foot in knotty, and ſcaly excreſcences. The deformity thus becomes diverſified—the enormous bulk of leg appearing under a variety of unſeemly and diſguſting forms. As the enlargement increaſes, the whole extremity becomes hard and ſcaly; and the diſtended ſkin, which, at firſt, indented, grows thick and corneous, and wholly reſiſts the preſſure of the finger.

It has been found on diſſection that, from the effuſed lymph which originally cauſed the tumor having become coagulated and hardened, the ſubſtance of the enlarged limb has aſſumed an appearance not unlike brawn—the morbid ſkin, and the cellular membrane under it, having grown into a tough, horny, and almoſt cartilaginous conſiſtence.

From this unſightly malady being moſtly accompanied with fever of an intermittent type, we often hear it termed "the fever and ague." Indeed from the periodical returns of the paroxyſms, and from the tumefaction ſucceeding to them, the diſeaſe has been very

generally conſidered only as an effect reſulting from intermittent fever. The practice, ſaid to be ſucceſsful in removing it, ſeems alſo to be founded upon this view of it. Regard being had to the fever as the original affection, the elephantiaſis is conſidered only as a ſequel, and the curative means are directed ſolely to the removal of the febrile ſymptoms: which being effected, by antimony and the bark, the patient is ſent for a time to ſome other iſland, by way of change of climate, in order to prevent a relapſe. No particular attention is paid to the tumor, which, on the fever being removed, is expected gradually to ſubſide. But ſometimes, inſtead of receding, it remains ſtationary, or is increaſed; or if it did ſubſide, is renewed on any future recurrence of the fever.

Often a return to Barbadoes brings a return of the intermittent, and a conſequent addition to the enlargement of the already thickened extremity; and from the attacks of the diſeaſe recurring in frequent repetition, there remains no way of preventing it from being eſtabliſhed into an unſeemly deformity, but by ſeeking the remedy of a more temperate climate. Frequently the diſorder ſeems

to be entirely ſubdued by a few years reſidence in England, yet again recurs on the patient returning to Barbadoes.

Some regard the diſeaſe in a directly oppoſite point of view, conſidering the glandular tumor, with its attendant inflammation of the lymphatics, as the primary affection, and the fever merely as ſymptomatic. It is not conſiſtent with my preſent purpoſe; nor does experience warrant me to enter more minutely into this queſtion; but I may offer you a few extracts of caſes wherefrom you will be enabled to collect a more juſt and accurate idea of the commencement, and the progreſs of this ſingular and diſtreſſing malady.

"Mr. Daniel Maſſiah, aged fifty-three, of the Jewiſh religion, was a very healthy boy till eighteen, when he was attacked with a diſeaſe, which at that period was very unuſual indeed. Without any known cauſe, he complained of a ſoreneſs, and ſwelling of the left groin. When he had felt this about a quarter of an hour, he was ſeized with the cold fit of fever; a burning hot fever ſucceeded, which was followed by profuſe ſweating. The whole

paroxyſm was accompanied with violent pains of the head and back, and great ſickneſs at the ſtomach, and reaching. This firſt attack left very little ſwelling in the left ancle. From this fit, for the four following years, he had this diſeaſe in the ſame manner about once a month, with a gradual increaſe of the left leg; ſo that it became eighteen or twenty inches round the calf. After he was twenty-two years of age, the attacks were five, ſix, ſeven, or eight times each year. From the year 1764, being then about thirty-ſix, he has been irregularly attacked, ſometimes in the right, and ſometimes in the left leg; each time the legs were left larger and larger. At the age of thirty-nine the right leg was conſiderably increaſed in ſize. In the centre of the calf of this leg there aroſe a lump as big as a gooſe's egg, which burſt of itſelf, and diſcharged a fluid as clear as water, in large quantity. The ſwelling abated, but each ſucceeding attack left the leg ſo increaſed in bulk, that at this time it meaſures thirty-ſix inches in every part of the leg, from below the knee to the ancle. The feet of both legs are of their natural ſize. The left leg meaſures twenty-ſix inches. The ſwelling is very ſmooth, except

on the right heel, where there are great excrescences, which have the appearance of large corns, or warts. The increase of the legs seems to have been so gradual, that he has not been in the least sensible of it; nor has he experienced any other inconvenience from the disease, except when he has been weakened by sickness, and then he feels his legs heavy."

"During the first sixteen years of his being subject to the disease, the local affections were always evident. Since that time, *i. e.* for about twenty years past, but more particularly lately, he has scarcely been able to determine whether the local symptoms, or the cold fit came on first. He says, that lately he finds the first local symptom to be a purple hue on the finger nails, and a great coldness in the palms of the hands. His appetite is very good, every function of life is uninterrupted, and he has been free from every other disease."

"Mr. P—, aged twenty-six, a native of Barbadoes, has been subject, since the age of eleven, to the glandular disease. It first attacked him with a swelling of the leg and thigh, which he perceived in the morning on

rifing from bed. The fwelling of the extremity was uniform, and, except a little pain which he felt in the groin, where, on examination, the glands were found enlarged, was not attended with the leaft mark of inflammation, or fever. This enlargement continued for about fourteen days, when he was feized with the regular paroxyfm of fever; which was however preceded by a red ftreak in the thigh, and a confiderable affection of the inguinal glands. A violent inflammation of the leg and thigh immediately preceded the hot fit, and continued for feven or eight days. This difeafe left a great degree of fwelling, which has continued with little variation ever fince. About two years after, the attacks being frequent, he was advifed to change his climate, and accordingly went to England, where his general health was much improved. During his ftay there, which was about eight months, he had no frefh attack of the glandular difeafe; but the enlargement continued nearly the fame. Soon after his return to Barbadoes, he had a regular attack of the glandular difeafe, which lafted as long, and was as fevere as thofe he had experienced before, he went to England. Thefe returns continued for feveral years to

be very frequent, but lately have been much diminiſhed, both in number and ſeverity."

"The hiſtory of the patient's caſe, whoſe leg I diſſected, as far as I could inform myſelf, was as follows:—She had laboured under the glandular diſeaſe for ten years: the firſt attack was at fifteen years of age, and was attended with fever. At every return ſhe found her leg much inflamed, increaſed in ſize, ſtiff, contracted, and gradually enlarged, till it became ſo enormous as to be extremely troubleſome. She then applied to me to perform amputation, of which ſhe recovered; but was ſoon after ſeized with the ſame diſeaſe in the other leg, and died in conſequence of it *."

Different opinions have been held reſpecting the origin of this ſingular affection. From it being moſt frequent, or firſt obſerved among the negroes, many have believed it to be imported with them from the ſhores of Africa. But this opinion is diveſted of probability, by the extraordinary prevalence of the diſeaſe at Barbadoes. Were it brought by the ſlaves

* Hendy on the glandular diſeaſe of Barbadoes.

from Africa, it would be equally common in the other iſlands ; and not being infectious, would not be ſeen among the white creoles, or the Europeans. It is undoubtedly the indigenous offspring of the iſland, and poſſibly is connected with a peculiarly arid ſtate of the atmoſphere; for in the iſlands ſhadowed with thick foreſts and vegetation, it is ſtill unknown, and has only grown common at Barbadoes, in proportion as its woods have been removed, and the ſurface of the iſland left unſheltered.

Except on its early attack, or at the periods of acute relapſe, the diſeaſe is attended with little or no pain, and the enlargement ſometimes proceeds ſo gradually, as for the perſon himſelf to be in a degree inſenſible of it. He walks about as uſual, and appears to ſuffer but little inconvenience, either from the additional bulk, or the great increaſe of weight. Hence it is often leſs afflicting to the individual, than offenſive to others. It is extremely repugnant to the ſight ; and as the negroes go about the ſtreets with theſe diſeaſed limbs expoſed to every eye, Europeans,

but recently arrived, are extremely annoyed by their filthy and monftrous appearance.

Perhaps nature has not formed, nor can the human mind conceive an object at once fo difgufting, and fo pitiable, as an old half-famifh-ed negro woman—of withered frame—tottering and trembling about with her loofe and naked fkin hanging fhrivelled in deep-furrowed wrinkles*; and dragging after her one or both legs grown into an immenfe bulk of hideous difeafe—her feet only toes, protruding from this huge mafs of diftempered leg. Yet fuch are the objects too often feen hobbling about the ftreets of Bridge-town !

Farms in Barbadoes termed plantations or estates. Poor cottagers. Native Barbadians. Their extravagant opinion concerning the importance of the island. Examples in proof that the negro form and colour are not the mere consequence of climate and locality.

April, 10.

AS planter here supersedes the title of farmer so does plantation that of farm. The land is cultivated in a number of divisions, which in Europe, might receive the common name of farms, but in Barbadoes, they are termed plantations, or estates. Of these the distinguishing appellation is not derived from the name of the existing possessor; but from some specific title long since accorded to them, or from the name of the original possessor, or of the family to whom they have for many years belonged. Thus a person, going to visit Mr. Hollingsworth or Mr Waith, would not say he was going to Mr. Waith's, or Mr. Hollingsworth's, but to "Colleton's," or to "Spend-

love" ; theſe being the names by which the eſtates have long been known.

Beſides the great number of hoſpitable manſions found on the large plantations, in the different parts of the country—many humble dwellings attract the notice of the traveller, and improve the general ſcenery of the iſland. Of ſome of theſe I have before ſpoken. They are the cottages of a poorer order of white people—of obſcure individuals, remote from the great claſs of merchants and planters, and who obtain a ſcanty livelihood by cultivating a ſmall patch of earth, and breeding up poultry, or what they term ſtock for the markets. They are deſcended from European ſettlers, but from misfortune, or miſconduct, in ſome of the race, are reduced to a ſtate far removed from independence ; often, indeed, but little ſuperior to the condition of free negroes.

Curioſity has led us to viſit ſeveral of theſe families, and we find that, throughout many generations, their predeceſſors have lived conſtantly, in the iſland. Some have not been able to trace back their pedigree to the period when their anceſtors firſt arrived, and there-

fore have no immediate thought or regard, concerning the mother country; but abſtractedly conſider themſelves only in the detached ſenſe of Barbadians, fondly believing that in the ſcale of creation there can be no other country, kingdom, or empire equal to their tranſcendant iſland—to their own Barbadoes: and hence the adage "*What would poor old England do, were Barbadoes to forſake her?*" The ſame ſpirit of attachment, and of preference is alſo betrayed in the common expreſſion, "*neither Charib nor Creole, but true Barbadian*"—thus proudly diſtinguiſhing themſelves as the true-born natives of the iſland which they conſider ſuperior to all others. They do not even admit themſelves to be *Creoles*, but they are "Barbadians"—a ſomething diſtinct and ſuperior—a ſomething different from, and unlike the inhabitants of the other Weſt India iſlands!

The pride attaching to this ſentiment, I have before remarked to you, has diffuſed itſelf even to the negroes, who now loudly echo the boaſtful term,—"*me Badian!*"

In the part of the iſland near the tar pits, we happened to call in at a ſmall hut, or

cabin, where we met with a large family of Barbadian cottagers; and, with all the inquisitiveness of strangers, we addressed the good people in a multitude of interrogatories, and were highly gratified with their replies. They were living amidst the mountains, apparently shut from the world, and but seldom exposed to the intrusion of strangers. The old dame of the house was nearly seventy years of age. We found her occupied in playful attentions with two of her grand children—two, of seven, of the offspring of her daughter. Making inquiries respecting the old woman's history we learned that she could trace back her family in regular lineal descent, as far as her great grandfather, the successors of whom have never removed from Barbadoes; so that the children we here saw, were to a certainty as distant as the sixth generation, and probably much more remote, in direct descent, from parents who had always lived in the torrid zone. One of the children was about six—the other eight years old. In fairness of skin, in feature, and in figure, they might have been mistaken for children born in England, or any other temperate climate.

Near Hilloughby hill we met with another cottage family, regularly defcended from Britifh parents, of long ftanding in the ifland, and having all the features, and general appearance of Europeans. The father of this family was fixty years old, and fome of his predeceffors had lived to upwards of ninety years. We could not trace the pedigree fo accurately as in the other family—but this probably was not lefs ancient, the old man having no knowledge but of his Barbadian predeceffors, and not knowing when they firft came to the ifland. The occupation of this family was that of planting a fmall fpot of land with ginger, and raifing ftock to fell at Bridge-town market. They were poor, like the others, and compelled to labour much in full expofure to the fun. Like the negroes, too, their diet confifted chiefly of vegetables.

At the fort, commanding the entrance of Carlifle bay, are living a man and his wife, both natives of Barbadoes, whofe anceftors for generations, beyond all that tradition has traced to them, have refided conftantly in the ifland: fitting round the mother we faw five

fine children—their offspring, of face and form as fair as the fairest Europeans.

These facts stand in direct opposition to the speculative doctrines of those who derive the various colours of the human race from climate or locality of residence, together with the concomitant circumstances of diet, and mode of life. Consistent with such opinion it follows that the offspring of Europeans, living constantly in the torrid zone, and, more particularly, if using the same diet, and exposed to similar habits, and occupations, must degenerate, and, in future ages, become negroes.

The three families above-mentioned are, undoubtedly, of the fifth or sixth, or, perhaps, a still more distant generation, in direct lineal descent, from parents, originally, English; but whose offspring, through every race, to the present children, have always resided between the tropics. They have, moreover, lived in circumstances of mediocrity, exposed to labour, and to the full influence of climate; or have known only the abode of poverty, and by needy fortune have been compelled to use a diet very similar to that of

the Africans. Yet is there not an individual among them, who, either in form, feature, or colour has made even the flighteſt approach to that change, which a conſtant reſidence, through ſo many generations, muſt have effected, were their deſcendants, of future ages, to become of negro form, and hue.

Allowing this change of our ſpecies to be as ſlow and gradual as the warmeſt advocate of the doctrine might ſuppoſe, it were impoſſible for the mind to conceive a period, when the offspring of Europeans would be broiled into perfect negroes, if no ſort of commencement—no mark whatever of deviation—nor any approach to the converſion, could be traced, either in the features, or the ſkin, of thoſe of the fifth, or ſixth, or perhaps of the eighth or ninth generation; after a reſidence, too, in the ſucceſſive races, of nearly two hundred years under a tropical ſun, and being expoſed to moſt of the other cauſes, ſaid to promote the expected revolution of their frames!

Children born in England have not fairer ſkins, nor features more correctly European,

The younger have all the cherub face and form of the lovely ſmiling babes of a temperate climate. Thoſe more advanced are thinner, and bear about them more of that languor, which univerſally reſults from long reſidence in great and conſtant heat; but ſtill have they no kind of approach to the thickened lip—the large mouth—the projecting countenance—the flattened noſe—the lengthened head—the woolly hair—or the dark ſkin of the negroes.

The opinions of the gentlemen of the iſland ſeem to be all againſt the idea of ſuch a converſion of the human body, and we are aſſured that multitudes of families, in addition to thoſe we have ſeen, now live in Barbadoes, who in progreſſive deſcent, through ſucceſſive generations, for nearly two hundred years, have reſided in the iſland, without the ſlighteſt change being perceptible in their offſpring of the preſent day.

To whatever age the parents may have lived, it is remarkable that, although the face and hands ſhall have become brown, from immediate expoſure to the ſun, the other parts of their bodies remain white and unchanged; and

not the ſofteſt ſhade—not the ſlighteſt tinge of the acquired darkneſs of hands or face is communicated to the deſcendants—the children being, invariably, born as perfect whites as thoſe of Europe. If, therefore, it could, for a moment, be admitted that merely the tanned countenance were an approach to the negro ſtate, this being completely extinguiſhed in each ſucceeding race, it could never advance beyond the feeble change effected in a ſingle generation.

But the very ſtrong and incontrovertible fact with reſpect to the American Indians, militates ſo decidedly againſt this doctrine of converſion, that ſcarcely another argument can be neceſſary to its refutation. Although living for unknown ages under the ſame parallel of latitude as the Africans, and expoſed to preciſely ſimilar habits and occupations, not an individual of them has ever been known to turn negro, either in ſkin or feature. Nor, indeed, would it be leſs reaſonable to expect that the negroes of Africa, or thoſe of the Weſt India iſlands, ſhould change to Indians, than that Indians, or Europeans, ſhould be converted into Africans!

No accurate tidings at Barbadoes of the approach of the Portſmouth Convoy. Symptoms of the troops moving. Drs. Henderſon and Cave ordered to remain in charge of the ſick of the St. Domingo diviſion. Author cautions his friend not to liſten to the alarming rumours of ſickneſs, and death. Great numbers in hoſpital—their maladies mild, and European—not endemic. Author witneſſes a caſe of yellow fever in company with Dr. Jackſon.

April 11.

COULD it have been foretold that on the 11th day of April the people of Barbadoes would have remained wholly ignorant regarding the ſituation of an immenſe fleet of ſhips which ſailed for that iſland, from England, in the month of November preceding, the myſteries of the prophet Brothers had ſcarcely been held more abſurd! Yet ſo it is, for all here ſtill continue in total darkneſs reſpecting the Portſmouth convoy! But ſome ſymptoms of moving are now exhibited, which ſeem to indicate that the troops already arrived will not be longer detained inactive.

Among other marks of approaching service, we have been called upon for a general return of the ſick, and it appears in orders that Drs. Henderſon and Cave, with a detatchment of our ſtaff, are to remain at Barbadoes in charge of the hoſpitals appropriated to the St. Domingo diviſion; and I may add with regret, that we are likely to leave theſe gentlemen buſy duty, the ſick-liſt, particularly of the Cork diviſion, being very numerous. In conſequence of many of the ſhips arriving in a ſickly ſtate, our hoſpitals became crowded as ſoon as they were erected, notwithſtanding our having the further accommodation of converting ſome of the barracks into ſick wards. But we have now in ſome meaſure relieved the hoſpitals, by forming a ſmall encampment and putting the convaleſcents under canvaſs.

We expect that you will hear from various quarters, and read in all the news-papers ſad hiſtories of diſeaſe and death, but let me caution you not to believe that we are all dying, or that the yellow-fanged monſter is let looſe amongſt us. Should it be told you that more than a thouſand ſick are already in

the hofpitals, be not deceived into a belief that fo many are about to become the victims of climate, and yellow fever; nor fuffer yourfelf to be perfuaded that the whole of us have "failed to our graves."

The hofpitals are certainly thronged, and the number of fick is very confiderable, but this cannot be placed to the account of the climate, or of endemic difeafe, for, nearly all the men, now in hofpital, *arrived* in ficknefs. They had been detained on Spike Ifland, or in crowded tranfports, during many weeks of inhofpitable weather, whereby extenfive difeafe was generated among them; and hence it happened that, upon arriving at Barbadoes, the troops in many of the fhips, although not actually ill, had approaching difeafe fo ftrongly marked in their features, that it became neceffary to remove every individual of them on fhore in order to have the veffels thoroughly fumigated and purified; and from this circumftance it occurred that many flight cafes were thrown into the hofpitals, which otherwife would not have appeared upon the lift. This will in fome meafure explain to you why the hofpitals are crowded, although neither "yel-

low fever," nor any other malignant diſeaſe reigns amongſt us.

Of the many hundreds now on the ſick-liſt a very great majority are ſlight caſes, or convaleſcents from diſeaſes they had ſuffered upon the paſſage. We have reaſon to believe that very few of their diſorders are of fatal tendency, and that a great proportion of the ſick will very ſoon be able to return to their regiments.

While I am upon the ſubject of ſickneſs I may remark to you that I have had my firſt opportunity of ſeeing a caſe of that deſtructive malady, which has lately excited ſuch univerſal alarm, under the term "yellow fever," but, perhaps, you are not prepared to hear that, after a reſidence of ſo many weeks in the Weſt Indies, I have ſeen only a ſolitary example of that diſeaſe: yet ſuch is the fact—for, amidſt all our ſickneſs, and crowded hoſpitals, only a ſingle inſtance of "yellow fever" has, hitherto, occurred. I viſited this patient with Dr. Jackſon, the author who has ſo ably written upon the diſeaſes of Jamaica, and obtained his clinical remarks concerning the

leading and more characteriſtic ſymptoms of the diſeaſe. You will believe that I readily formed the idea of making this intereſting and important caſe an object of very minute attention; and you will feel that the event has impreſſed upon my mind a very powerful ſenſe of the ſubtle malignity of this devouring malady.

The patient was certainly very ill, but, to thoſe who had not before witneſſed the diſeaſe, he did not appear to be in any immediate danger; nor did Dr. Jackſon ſeem to think it a caſe of the higheſt degree of malignity; but, alas! on going to viſit him the following morning, we found our poor ſoldier a cold and yellow corpſe!

LETTER VII.

Further hope—and further disappointment. Another division of the Portsmouth convoy reaches Barbadoes. Rumour of a secret Expedition. Concerning the probable separation of the author and his comrades. Expertness of Negroes in the water. One of their modes of Bathing. Negroes attentive to their teeth. Mode of cleaning them with sand and sea water.

Barbadoes, April 13.

WERE we in danger, as often as in alarm, our friends might, indeed, have serious apprehensions both for us, and for "good old Barbadoes." The ensign of *alarm* has again appeared this morning at the several signal posts along the coast, implying that another strange fleet was in sight; and which was observed to be standing directly for the island. We were all very quickly on the look-out—our only fear that it should prove to be but a part, instead of the whole of our long wished for convoy from Postsmouth.

By means of the telescope it was soon discovered that many of the ships had troops

on board; and that they were dreſſed in ſcarlet uniform; no doubt, therefore, remained of their being friends. As they came near we climed up to the main-yard, to enjoy the delighting ſcene preſented by their gently ſailing into harbour; and as you know how often I have had to note our diſappointments regarding this diſaſtrous expedition, you will comprehend how eagerly I greeted the termination of them in the proſpect now before my eye. Pleaſed and delighted to witneſs what we beheld as the arrival of the whole fleet, we counted the ſhips in great joy as they came into the bay; when, having proceeded to the number of ſeventeen, judge of the mortification we felt upon diſcovering that ſtill we had only welcomed a detached diviſion of our expected convoy.

Standing upon the main-yard, numbering the ſhips as they dropped into the harbour, I anticipated the pleaſure of ſitting down in the evening to inform you that the different fleets of our expedition were, at laſt, ſafe in Carliſle bay—but on taking up my pen I have only to tell of new diſappointments, which, in

truth, would ſeem to attach to theſe unhappy convoys in endleſs repetition. Inſtead of announcing to you the union of the two great diviſions of our forces, from Cork and Portſmouth, I have only to ſpeak of the arrival of another ſmall branch of Admiral Cornwallis's fleet, which ſeparated ſoon after leaving Spithead; and which, inſtead of bringing us intelligence, has every thing to learn concerning the body of the convoy, not having fallen in with any part of it on the paſſage.

A rumour is ſtrongly prevalent among us, that a diviſion of the troops, now aſſembled, at Barbadoes, is to be detached on ſecret ſervice. Should this take place, and the detachment be formed from the St. Domingo armament, it is more than poſſible that our happy quartette may yet be disjointed before we reach our original deſtination. Of courſe our expectations have always led to this: yet from having lived on board, together, and in the utmoſt harmony, during a period of many months, it would be matter of regret, to either of us, to be taken from our congenial meſs, at the very eve of ſailing for our deſtined port, and particularly as we muſt be ſeparated

under circumſtances which would render it probable that we ſhould never meet again.

This idea might lead me to expatiate very painfully upon the ſituation of multitudes around me. But to indulge in ſuch feelings would not be opportune: whatever reflection may teach—or whatever may be the event of the great ſcene before us, with reſpect to individuals, I truſt that every Briton, embarked in the cauſe, will meet, with all the firmneſs of his nation's character, whatever is deſtined to be his fate in war.

I do not recollect to have noted to you in any former letter the great fondneſs which the negroes have for the water, and their ſingular addreſs and expertneſs in moving upon that element. In one of our late walks we witneſſed a ſcene ſtrongly in proof of this, having met with a ſlave who was amuſing himſelf by exerciſes of uncommon agility in the ſea. Not an otter, nor a beaver, nor ſcarcely a dolphin could appear more in his element. He was quite at play in the water, and diverting himſelf in all kinds of antic tricks, and gambols. He dived to the bottom—ſwam

in a variety of ways—walked or paddled along like a dog—concealed himſelf for a long time under water—laid himſelf at reſt upon its ſurface, and appeared as much at his eaſe, in the ocean, as if he had never breathed a lighter, nor trodden a firmer element.

This expertneſs is much derived from an early habit of bathing, or, as it might be termed, exerciſing in the water; and it renders the negroes peculiarly uſeful in moments of diſtreſs, ſuch as in caſes of accident at ſea, or in the harbour. Let them have a boat, or a canoe, and it is almoſt impoſſible they can be drowned. Even if they are upſet, and the boat turned keel upwards, they riſe at her ſides, and there continue to ſwim and paddle until they again *right her*, then bailing out the water reſume their ſeats and proceed as if nothing had happened.

A ſenſe of cleanlineſs attaches to their love of the water, for we not only ſee them often in the ſea, but frequently alſo waſhing themſelves in the rivulets. It ſeems to form one of their favorite amuſements to ſtand in the ſea, or river, and to take up water in both hands

and pour it over their ſhoulders down their backs. This is practiſed both by the men and the women, and is one of their moſt frequent methods of bathing.

Another mark of cleanlineſs alſo prevails among them which was leſs to be expected; viz. that of paying great attention to their teeth. The chew-ſtick which is here employed for cleaning the teeth is far more in uſe among the negroes, than the tooth bruſh among the lower claſſes of people in England.

Our adroit negro, amidſt his many gambols in the water, dived often to the bottom of the ſea, and brought up a handful of ſand. With this rough dentifrice he ſoundly ſcrubbed his teeth, and by way of eſſence to waſh it off, plunged down, for another handful, with his mouth wide open; thus, alternately, repeating the rubbing, and ſea water waſhing, until he felt that his pearls were duly contraſted with his ebon countenance.

LETTER VIII.

Author ſeparated from his long aſſociated comrades. Embarks on board the Grenada, on a ſecret expedition. Conjectures regarding its deſtination. Embarkation of troops on board the Grenada. Accommodation of the officers and ſoldiers. Rapid accumulation of filth on board. Troops preſerved from ſickneſs by bathing, and by keeping a great proportion of them always in the open air. Force employed in the expedition. A fleet arrives at Barbadoes at the time the expedition ſails. Author addreſſes his friend from the oppoſite ſide of the ſun.

Ship Grenada, at Sea, April 17.

THE apprehended diviſion of our long aſſociated meſs has taken place! It has fallen to my lot to join the reported expedition under General Whyte, and I am ſeparated from my friends, perhaps, ſoon to meet again, perhaps, to meet no more! To what quarter we are bound is held in ſecrecy. Curaçoa, Demarara, St. Euſtatia, and various other deſtinations have been ſeverally conjectured, but from the courſe we are at preſent ſteering the coaſt of Guiana would ſeem to be moſt probable.

We were ordered away at very ſhort notice. On returning to the Lord Sheffield after my viſit at the hoſpital on the morning of the 14th inſt. I received inſtructions to embark on board the Grenada tranſport before 12 o'clock; and to take upon me the direction of a detachment of the hoſpital ſtaff, appointed to attend a diviſion of the army, which was to ſail that afternoon, on ſecret ſervice.

Being adviſed to take with me as little baggage as poſſible, and aſſured that I might expect ſoon to return, in order to proceed with General Whyte, to St. Domingo, I made up a ſoldier's kit of apparel, and left all my heavier packages, under the care of my late comrades, in the Lord Sheffield.

The Grenada is a very fine veſſel, and ſails remarkably well. Like the Lord Sheffield, ſhe is a Weſt India trader, engaged as a tranſport only for the paſſage out, and as ſoon as ſhe has completed her voyage is to return to England laden with ſugar, cotton, or other Weſt India produce.

I thought myſelf fortunate in being ap-

pointed to ſo good a ſhip ; and, hearing that troops were to be thickly ſtowed on board the different veſſels of the expedition, anticipated much of comfort upon the paſſage, by obſerving that the Grenada was free from the crowd I had expected to meet. But my ſelf-gratulations proved to be ſomewhat premature. Upwards of three hundred troops arrived quickly after, and a ſcene of crowd and confuſion was introduced ſurpaſſing all that even fancy had created. Many of the men were intoxicated —moſt of them were up to their knees in water, in the boat, and ſome as wet from head to foot as if they had been dragged through the ſea. In the hurry of ſcrambling up the ſhip, two of them fell overboard, and narrowly eſcaped being drowned. The decks ſoon became ſo crowded, as to render it impoſſible to paſs, and amidſt the throng of living ſtowage a further inconvenience was produced from the hatch-ways being obliged to be opened for the reception of cannon, ammunition, baggage, and other ſtores, which the ſhip's company were hoiſting in on all ſides.

Negroes, ſailors, ſoldiers, and officers all mingled together, in one hurried and anxious

mafs—fome hard at work—fome curfing and fwearing—fome reeling in drunkennefs—fome fcrambling for a knapfack, or a firelock—fome lofing their hats—fome hoifting baggage up the fhip's fide—fome jumping on board—fome hawling in provifions at the ftern—each feeking individual or general accommodation—and all adding to the common confufion.

In the afternoon we were vifited by the General, who came on board, to fee if every thing was embarked ready for failing in the evening: but the time required for getting in the guns and other heavy ftores, and the numerous impediments occurring from fuch multitudes of perfons crowding on board at the fame moment, rendered this altogether impoffible—however, by the great exertions which were made, we were able to get under weigh at an early hour the following morning.

The Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the regiment, the commanding officer of artillery, and myfelf, are the only officers who have the accommodation of feparate births: all the others are obliged to be crowded together without beds, or mattreffes, upon the naked decks of

the cabins, and even there, they are compelled to close-ſtowage to make room for them all.

On the upper deck the ſoldiers are ſtill more thickly ſpread, they lie down without any other covering than their clothes of the day, uſing the arm, or the knapſack as a pillow: and ſo well do they ſtow that not a foot can find place between them. Happily the wind is very favorable, and we are led to believe that whereſoever we are bound the voyage will not be long. Having the ſteady breeze of the trades on her quarter, the ſhip is worked almoſt wholly by the helm, and we ſeldom require to ſhift the ſails—occaſional bracing being all that is neceſſary. Had the weather been bad and the wind againſt us, you will readily imagine the ſtate we muſt have been in, with ſuch a body of men, ſick, and ill, and crowded in every quarter of the ſhip. Even as it is we have much difficulty in keeping them ſufficiently clean to preſerve them in health. They lie down in their clothes at night, where they have been ſtanding or ſitting the whole of the day, and from making the deck at once their ſitting bench, their din-

ner board, and their bed, all about them ſoon grows filthy and offenſive: pieces of broken food—ſloppings of broth, or grog, bits of meat, old bones, crumbs of biſcuit, and various other kinds of filth collect under them, and about their clothing; and, from the great heat of climate, and ſtill more unpleaſant heat of crowd, this dirty commixture ſoon becomes ſour and fetid; and would, in a ſhort time, generate diſeaſe, were not ſome rigid rules of cleanlineſs ſtrictly enforced.

Beſides thoſe who ſleep upon the open deck above, there is another crowd in a more confined ſituation between decks. Obſerving this place to be very cloſe, and not ſufficiently ventilated, I have recommended that the men ſhould be divided into three watches, and that two of the three diviſions ſhould be kept conſtantly upon the open deck, relieving thoſe below every four hours. Likewiſe as a further means of prevention I have adviſed that all the men ſhould bathe every morning, while the decks are thoroughly waſhed and cleaned. Fortunately I am ſupported in this by the approbation of Colonel Tilſon, who is exceed-

ingly zealous to do every thing that can preſerve the health of the ſoldiers, and has iſſued his orders accordingly.

We have contrived a method whereby the bathing is effected with leſs trouble than was at firſt apprehended. The men are regularly aſſembled by companies upon the quarter deck, at an early hour of the morning, and there undreſſing, two at a time, they go down to the waiſt of the ſhip, and remain at the bottom of the ſtep leading from the quarter deck, until two or three buckets of water have been daſhed upon them by ſome of their comrades ſtanding directly above them upon the edge of the quarter deck, others being ſtationed at the ſides to draw up water for the purpoſe. After being thus waſhed, they move on to the forecaſtle to dreſs themſelves, others following in ſucceſſion until the whole are bathed.

We find ſome difficulty in eſtabliſhing this practice, but I hope in a few days to ſee it brought to the regularity of a military movement: the benefit of it is not confined ſimply to cleanlineſs of perſon, for while the bathing is going on, the decks, where the men ſleep,

are thoroughly ſwept and waſhed, and it is matter of ſurprize to us to ſee the prodigious quantity of dirt, of remnants of food, and various other ſpecies of filth which collect within four-and-twenty hours. Its utility is alſo further extended, in the general movement it creates, and the refreſhing coolneſs it brings to every one on board. Were the voyage to be long, our experience of the few paſt days ſeems to aſſure us that this daily waſhing would not merely be our beſt, but, perhaps, our only preſervative from ſickneſs.

The expedition conſiſts of about thirteen hundred men of the 39th, 93d, and 99th regiments commanded by Lieutenant Colonels Tillſon, Hiſlop and Gammell, and a party of artillery, under command of Captain Bagot. The ſquadron of the fleet employed with us is commanded by Commodore Parr, and conſiſts of the Malabar of 50 guns, La Pique, Le Babet, and the Undaunted frigates—to which are added, the Grenada armed tranſport, with ſeveral ſloops, and ſchooners.

At the time we were ſailing from Carliſle bay on the morning of the 15th, an alarm

was fired, and the signal hoisted, denoting the approach of a fleet; but it was too distant, and the weather too hazy for us to ascertain distinctly what fleet it was—perhaps the long expected convoy; or possibly only another severed division of it. Even should it prove to have been the body of the fleet, bringing in the great bulk of the armament, it still is an extraordinary instance of delay, from adverse weather, that a convoy which sailed from Spithead early in November, should only have reached Barbadoes on the 15th of April following, and it must stand as a striking example of the incalculable uncertainty of all maritime expeditions.

I must not forget to note to you that I am now addressing you from the opposite side of the sun. This day in latitude 9° 27′ we passed immediately under that burning orb, receiving his perpendicular rays directly upon our heads. I have nothing further to tell you on this occasion. His southern face seems neither hotter, nor colder, brighter nor darker, than his northern. The only striking peculiarity arises from the novelty of looking to the north at noon, to take our meridian, and

habit will be required to reconcile this ſeeming inconſiſtency. While you at mid-day look ſouth for the ſun, I ſhall look north, and although our noon will be different, this circumſtance will often mentally place me with you. The effect, I would flatter myſelf, will be reciprocal, and, attracted by his oppoſite ſides, the cheering ſun will be the medium of frequently aſſociating us in warm and mutual ſympathy.

LETTER IX.

Destination of the expedition. Ships come to anchor in shallow and muddy water. Tops of trees appear, but no land in sight. Common marks of land on approaching the shore. Author continues to make notes for his friend, without knowing when he may be able to send them. Troops prepare to disembark.

At Sea, April 20.

OUR destination is no longer a secret! The Captain went yesterday on board the Commodore, and received his instructions—when the Dutch colonies upon the coast of Guiana were avowed to be the object of our expedition.

In the evening we came into thick and muddy water indicating our approach to the shore; but nothing of land could be perceived even from the top-gallant-mast head. This morning the sea was still more muddy, of a yellowish colour, and, comparatively, very shallow. Land was unquestionably near, but, still, not visible. In the course of the day trees were seen from the mast head, and we came to anchor only a few leagues from them

but, even yet, without being able to ſee the land. It is common to deſcry a peculiar ſtreak at the horizon, or a kind of line, or fixed point in the clouds, denoting the land which a veſſel approaches, long before it reaches the coaſt; but, here, we are in thick muddy water, near the ſhore, and with trees in view, without being able to diſtinguiſh any other mark of the territory before us. It ſeems to be a peculiar ſhore, the water being very thick and ſhallow at a great diſtance from the land.

My pen is continued to your idea, without knowing when I may be able to ſend you my letters; but I like to think toward you, and to addreſs you, amidſt all the variety of ſcenes as they paſs before me.

The preſent would appear to be an important moment. Orders are iſſued for three days' proviſions to be cooked, and for the troops to hold themſelves in readineſs for immediate debarkation. They have, conſequently, been paraded this evening upon deck; their arms and accoutrements cleaned and inſpected; and all put in a ſtate for action. The ſoldiers are forewarned in general orders

that all irregular conduct, towards the inhabitants on landing, will subject them to certain punishment and disgrace; and plunder is prohibited on pain of death. The field-artillery, with carriages, sponges, ammunition, and all the necessary apparatus have been put into boats this evening from our ship, preparatory to being conveyed on shore with the troops in the morning, and after a day of great hurry and labour all is, now, quite in readiness for leaving the vessel.

Orders are issued concerning the plan of attack by the troops, and the station to be taken by the different ships; and all seems to imply a busy morrow, but, as mine will not be the most prominent post of danger, I shall hope to note to you the detail of our proceedings in a future letter. At present, I seek my birth, cordially bidding you . . . . . good night!

LETTER X.

Author again upon terra firma. Capture of the united colony of Effequibo and Demarara. An accident occurs during the night. Troops sent on shore in small vessels. They run aground. Grenada and other ships anchor at the mouth of the river Demarara. Flag of truce returns, and is dispatched again on shore. Capitulation of Fort William Frederic. Soldiers fall sick on the passage. Effect produced on the sick by the idea of going into action. Landing in Demarara. Appearance of the town of Stabroek, and of the country. Hospitality of an English settler. Author proceeds upon duty. Fortune throws him into good quarters, without a billet. Surgeon Carrol attacked with an alarming malady.

Stabroek, April 23.

I HAVE again the pleafure of addreffing you upon terra firma, and of telling you that the united colony of Effequibo and Demarara is ours. All being in readinefs for landing on the morning of the 21ft, the troops were ordered to proceed on fhore, with the earlieft tide, and the frigates, with the Grenada, and the flave fhip, were directed to take their ftations before the fort, at the entrance of the river.

An unhappy accident had occurred, during the night, which might have been the

caufe of much inconvenience, but, fortunately, it was foon remedied. The two long boats, with all the neceffary implements for working the guns, that were to be landed with the troops, broke from their lafhing, and had gone adrift from the fhip. You will imagine that it was not a late hour of the morning when the accident was difcovered. Men were fent out, immediately, in fearch of the boats, and they were found drifted out to fea far down to leeward, but with all the things fafe on board. Luckily they were brought back in time to accompany the troops, the tide not ferving at an early hour, for attempting the difembarkation.

At length the little fleet of floops, fchooners, and other fmall veffels, calculated, as it was believed, for the fhallow fea they had to pafs, got under weigh, and ftood direct for the fhore. The larger fhips were unable to approach near enough to give any protection to the landing.

The fmall light veffels into which the troops and ftores were removed, were fome of them brought with us from Barbadoes for the

purpose—and some taken after our arrival upon the coast; but, unfortunately, it proved that even these, light as they were, drew too much water for this muddy shore; for, about five o'clock, we had the mortification to learn that our little fleet was fast aground deep fixed in mud. Finding the small vessels in this dilemma, our ship, together with the others which had sailed through a very confined channel towards the fort, came to anchor near the entrance of the Demarara river, having the fort, also a Dutch frigate, and a number of shipping in full view before them.

This was a more unhappy accident than the breaking loose of the boats with artillery stores, and might have proved of serious consequence, as the troops were compelled to remain until the next flood of tide, being equally unable either to reach the shore, or to return.

In the events of this day we had a further proof of the extreme uncertainty of military operations, more particularly when connected with, or dependent upon maritime movements. In the morning we had every

prospect of seeing the troops on shore, the fort taken, and the whole affair decided before we slept: but, in the evening, chagrin and disappointment, only, were our lot: the great expectations of the day having ended in bringing some of the ships to an anchor off the mouth of the river, and placing the troops in an unhappy dilemma, from which it was out of the power of man to extricate them, until the unerring operations of nature should send back the waters of the ocean to their relief.

The ships were anchored so near the river as to prevent the escape of any of the enemy's vessels, and the troops on board were ordered to lie on their arms, upon deck, during the night, to prevent a surprize; and to be in readiness to act against the fort, at any hour they might be called upon.

At eight o'clock in the morning the flag of truce which had been sent off to the fort returned. Due secrecy was of course observed regarding the reply: and presently the boat was again dispatched to the fort: but as the little schooner fleet was ordered to return to the ships, at the flood of tide, instead of pro-

ceeding to land the troops; and as no orders were given to advance to the attack of the fort, it was presumed that the anſwer had not been hoſtile.

Between 10 and 11 o'clock the flag of truce again returned, and it was then announced that the capitulation was accepted, and that the fort was immediately to ſurrender to our troops. A party was accordingly detached, to take poſſeſſion of a poſt agreed upon, and the whole garriſon was to march out at 4 o'clock. Conſequently by evening we found ourſelves fully eſtabliſhed in Fort William Frederic, the ſtrongeſt, and indeed the only defence of the colony.

Notwithſtanding our ſtrict obſervance of cleanlineſs, and all our care to prevent diſ-ſeaſe, I am ſorry to remark, that numbers of the ſoldiers fell ſick on the paſſage: but in mentioning this I ought to obſerve that the 39th and 99th regiments were moſtly compoſed of draughts from various other young regiments, conſiſting principally of old men, and unſeaſoned boys, who had been collected together, not according to the beſt regu-

lations of the recruiting ſervice; and alſo, that multitudes of them had been ſick on the paſſage from Cork to Barbadoes, conſequently many (of thoſe now ill) are only ſuffering from a relapſe of former diſeaſe.

It is worthy of remark that, although upon the paſſage, not a morning had paſſed without a conſiderable number being reported for the ſick-liſt, we had not one new patient the day it was intended to make the landing; but, on the contrary, the liſt of the preceding day was diminiſhed. The ſpirit of attack ſeemed to operate as a ſpecific remedy. Many actually recovered, and were allowed to join their companies. Others ſtole off, without reporting themſelves, fearful the doctors ſhould not allow that they were well enough to be reported efficient: and others, far too weak to bear arms, feebly crawled from under the awning of the quarter-deck, which had been converted into a ſick ward for their accommodation, and begged of me to permit them to go on ſhore to join their comrades in the battle. The idea of going into action proved a more ſalutary ſtimulus than could be found in the whole of the London or Edinburgh Pharma-

copœia ; and, ſtrange to add, the ſound of the deſtructive cannon promiſed to be a more healing balm, then the mildeſt emollient preſcribed by the doctor.

In adverting to the country, from whence I addreſs you, I may remark that circumſtances attended our landing, which were not the moſt calculated to create a favorable impreſſion of the colony. The morning had been clouded, and, it becoming wet, we were completely drenched with rain in the boats, and then ſet on ſhore in the midſt of a heavy ſhower. From the landing-place we had nearly a mile to walk to the town; and ſuch a walk, perhaps, could not have been found in any other country—Holland excepted. From the nature of the road it was almoſt impoſſible to maintain ourſelves upon our feet for a ſingle ſtep. Fatigued by heat, we had to drag along in the rain, either ancle-deep in mud, or ſlipping and ſliding about upon a wet ſurface of clay.

We arrived at the town in a ſadly drenched and beſpattered condition; but here we found our feet relieved by ſtepping on a

narrow causeway, paved with small bricks put edgewise into the ground. This was a glad change to our trembling limbs, and now, from requiring less heed to our steps, and the rain ceasing, we had an opportunity of looking round us to observe the general appearance of the town and the country. I could have fancied myself in Holland. The land appeared as one wide flat intersected with dykes and canals —the roads mere banks of mud and clay, thrown from the ditches at their sides—and the houses bedaubed and painted in tawdry colors, like Dutch toys, giving the whole a striking resemblance to the mother country.

The town is simply, two long rows of houses, built very distant from each other, with a wide green in the middle, by way of street. It is more than a mile in length, running in a line from the river back to the forest—the most inconvenient form perhaps that could have been contrived, as it throws most of the houses far away from the river, and deprives them of the great advantages, for trade, which they might have had by erecting the houses parallel with the course of the water. To remedy this defect canals and ditches have

been cut, at the backs of the houſes, which are perhaps the worſt poſſible neighbours the inhabitants could have near them, for being filled with mud, and all the filthy drainings of the town, and only partially emptied by the reflux of the tide, they become highly offenſive, and tend to generate diſeaſe. The cauſeway of bricks is continued throughout the whole length of the town; but the carriage way, like the road we travelled from the fort, is of mere clay and mud.

We could not diſcover any place bearing the appearance of an inn or hotel, but, two other officers and myſelf had the good fortune to meet an Engliſh ſettler, in the ſtreet, who very kindly conducted us to his houſe, and, with great hoſpitality, not only provided us with the means of drying our clothes, and cleaning our perſons, but, alſo, ſet before us ſome fine Dutch herrings, with wine, punch, and other refreſhments.

After waiting upon the General, at the government houſe, I loſt no time in proceeding upon duty; and, without delay, went out in ſearch of ſome building to convert into an

hoſpital, or place of accommodation for our ſick. This would have led to a new journey, by way of the wet and ſlippery road, to the fort; but, among the happy events of the day, fortune threw me in the path of another gentleman reſiding in the town, who, upon obſerving me ſcrambling through the mud and clay, inſiſted upon my taking his boat and ſlaves to convey me to the fort, by way of the river, aſſuring me that to walk it might be a dangerous exceſs of fatigue; and, further, directing his negroes to wait, and bring me back, to his houſe, to dinner. Perhaps I was little inclined to refuſe, but it had been difficult to reſiſt the preſſing civility with which the accommodation was offered, accordingly I accepted the boat, and, afterwards, returned and ate of boiled fowl, and a roaſted kid. During dinner the friendly invitation was extended to a requeſt, almoſt amounting to a demand, from both the gentleman and lady of the table, that I would make that houſe my home ſo long as the ſervice ſhould require my continuance at Stabroek. Thus has fortune, at once, eſtabliſhed me in good quarters in the enemy's country,

without a billet, and even without the trouble of feeking them.

'Poor Carrol the furgeon, who accompanied our ftaff, having been directed to proceed with the troops, who were to have landed previous to the furrender of the fort, is, unhappily, a fevere fufferer from long expofure to heat in the boat. After being away upwards of thirty hours he returned to the Grenada, with a very alarming attack of hæmatemefis *. He left us yefterday morning in ftrong and florid health, and is, to-day, brought back with a death-like pallor of countenance, and in a ftate of almoft inconceivable debility and exhauftion. A veffel having ruptured in the ftomach he vomits up pure blood in furprifing quantities.

With a faint and languid, but moft penetrating look, he caft his eye up to me, and in a faultering voice expreffed himfelf confcious of the very imminent peril of his fituation, affuring me that he was well aware how few hours he *had to live*, and requefting me to take his

* Vomitifig of blood.

pocket-book and money into my possession, and to see that his property was disposed of, after his death, as he had directed. Never perhaps was witnessed a more interesting, or more afflicting scene! You will form to yourself the best representation of it by placing before your imagination a dead corpse, and fancying its pale lips to move, while its sunk flattened eye turns, feebly, towards you.

But I do not wholly despair of his recovery. Being now placed in an easy and settled position, with the ship quietly at anchor, I am not without the hope that the bleeding and vomiting may cease, in which case he might probably be recovered from the extreme debility occasioned by the great quantity of blood already lost.

LETTER XI.

A detachment of the expedition proceeds to Berbische. Scarcity of fresh provisions. Author forestals the market. Purchases a basket of pines. Conduct of the Captain of a French privateer—of another republican citizen. Healthy appearance of the colonists. Demarara not less salubrious than the islands. Country flat, and like Holland. Author visits a coffee plantation. Alluring groves and avenues of fruit trees. Author severely attacked by their keepers. Welcomed by a kind nymph of the grove, and presented with the garden's golden fruit. Meets a slave with a load of oranges. Obtains leave from Mynheer Meertens to gather fruit for the sick soldiers. Events favorable to the gratification of European curiosity. A sale of slaves. Parties of Indians. Author has a slave placed at his elbow during dinner. Is complimented with one at his bedchamber door. Commencement of the wet season. Western hospitality not confined to Barbadoes. Author solicited to purchase a female slave. Remarks of a lady on hearing the cries of a slave under punishment. Prize money.

Demarara, April 28.

HAVING secure possession of the colony of Essequibo and Demarara, a division of our armament has been detached to the attack of the adjoining settlement of Berbische, which separates us from Surinam.

The whole of the coaſt not being yet cleared of its wild woods, no regular road is eſtabliſhed between the two colonies, although Demarara and Berbiſche lie contiguous to each other; and hence this, like moſt of our expeditions, is expoſed to all the uncertainties of the wind and the ocean. The troops were embarked on board ſmall ſloops and ſchooners, calculated for the ſhallow waters of this muddy coaſt; and it is expected that they will reach Berbiſche to-morrow evening, or the following morning, the diſtance between the two great rivers, which give names to the colonies, being but little more than twenty leagues.

We are taught that it will not be poſſible to procure freſh animal proviſions in theſe colonies, in the quantity neceſſary for the army: but it is ſuggeſted that we may obtain a ſupply from the Spaniards, who have great numbers of wild cattle, in the iſland of Trinidad, and upon the neighbouring coaſt of Oronoko. Vegetables and fruits we find, here, in great plenty. The market, as at Barbadoes, is held on Sunday, and is ſupplied

by means of what the negroes either grow, or ſteal.

Being anxious to provide for the ſick, in the beſt way our ſupply would admit, I became, on Sunday laſt, quite a foreſtaller of the market. Taking with me a party of ſlaves, and of orderlies from the hoſpital, we went, at an early hour, to the ſpot where the negroes uſually aſſemble with their loads; and finding that very few had arrived, we walked out to the different roads, leading to the town, and, there, made our purchaſes in the groſs, as we chanced to meet the ſupplies on their way to the market.

I know not whether you will hold this foreſtalling and monopoly to be juſtifiable; but I felt it conſiſtent with my duty to the ſick; and if any of thoſe who were well experienced a diſappointment at the market, in conſequence of it, my conſolation was, that they would be much better able to ſupply themſelves, by other means, than the poor ſuffering objects for whom I had to provide.

Perhaps it is profeſſional, but it has ever been a principle, with me, to exert my firſt care for thoſe who are in ſickneſs, conſcious that thoſe in health will ſuffer leſs from occaſional deficiency: and the gratification I experience in ſeeing the poor objects, who are looking up to me, well ſupplied and contented, reconciles all difficulties, while it aſſures me that the maxim is correct.

Not having freſh animal proviſions, an ample ſupply of vegetables is, abſolutely, neceſſary to diminiſh the ſaltneſs of the broths, and meſſes, which we are compelled to prepare, from barrelled beef and pork, for the ſick. Had my purchaſe, therefore, engroſſed every yam and potatoe of the market, feelings of humanity, no leſs than imperious neceſſity, would have ſanctioned the monoply.

It will, perhaps, ſurprize you to learn that, among our marketings, I purchaſed a large hamper of pines, nearly as heavy as a negro could carry, for, only, the ſmall ſum of *three bits*. On counting them over, I found that I had ſeventeen fine large pines for only fifteen-pence, being ſomewhat leſs

than a penny each. I thought to London! and wiſhed I could ſend you a waggon-load.

"I muſt not omit telling you that, among the veſſels lying in the river at the time of our approach, was a French privateer, commanded by a furious revolutionary citizen of the *great Republic—ſans-cullottes de la premiere claſſe*—who, in all the rage of wild democracy, reſolved not to ſtrike his flag to the "*Tyrant-Engliſh*!" Seeing no poſſibility of ſailing from the harbour, without being taken, he ran his veſſel as far as poſſible up the river, and; there, ſunk her. One of our ſchooners being ſent in purſuit of her, found the veſſel, with only her maſts above water; the crew having gone on ſhore, in the boat, to ſeek their eſcape, through the wild woods, leaving a moſt inſolent and abuſive letter in a bottle, tied to the maſt-head. This ſpecimen of gaſconade, and republican ſcurrility, began "You d——d inf—l raſcals," and, being continued in low and vulgar abuſe, went on to aſſure us that, on our return to the iſlands, the brave *Victor Hugues* would "teach us the valour of *true* republicans."

We are not without the hope of being able to raiſe the privateer, and make her uſeful; and it is extremely doubtful whether her deſperate citizen-commander may find it poſſible to traverſe the woods to any place of ſecurity. It ſeems far more probable that he may be compelled to take ſhelter in ſome remote part, either of the colony of Demarara, or Berbiſche; and that it may, yet, be his fortune to ſeek the clemency of thoſe whom his folly and temerity have led him ſo groſsly, and unjuſtly, to revile*.

In the town of Stabroek, likewiſe, we found another violent republican, whoſe raſh and revolutionary zeal outran all the bounds of diſcretion. This was *a citizen* who formerly held a kind of tavern, or public houſe, in Stabroek: and although he was, entirely, in our power, policy did not lead this man to the concealment, nor even the moderate expreſſion of his miſchievous ſentiments. He not only avowed, but ſought to inculcate the moſt violent and revolutionary principles; and although he had much cauſe of diſtreſs, from domeſtic affliction, he could not

* He fell into diſeaſe, and died before he reached the colony of Surinam.

resist the pleasure of grossly abusing the "*English aristocrats*," and indulging in loud political declamation! His wife had died the very evening the Dutch garrison surrendered, but the colony becoming subject to the "*monarchical English*," was deeper grief to this *modern-feeling*—this *high-patriot* republican, than the loss of his better-self! Next morning the corpse of his deceased wife was carried to a short distance out of the town, and this citizen leveller, without prayer or lamentation, committed the body of his late partner "to . . . . . . the crabs." Religion, and even its forms seem to be, here, dispensed with, for they have neither a place of worship, nor of interment. Citizen M— followed his poor unlamented wife to the fields, and there consigned her to a hole in the earth, uttering his grief in loud curses against . . . . the aristocrats!

A few days since I had an opportunity of dining in company with several of the planters of this colony, who have estates upon the sea-coast; and I could not but remark a striking difference between these gentlemen, and those who, constantly, reside in Stabroek,

or in Bridge-town; compared to whom they would ſeem the more robuſt inhabitants of a temperate climate. Both in countenance and in general ſtamina, they are very unlike the ſallow cachectic-looking ſubjects of the towns. To find any of the coloniſts of ſo ſtrong and healthy appearance, was matter of gratification to me, having been impreſſed with a contrary expectation, from the very diſcouraging reports I had heard regarding theſe ſettlements.

From all that I had collected upon the ſubject, I had underſtood it to be a very generally received opinion at Barbadoes, and the neighbouring iſlands, that the climate upon the coaſt of Guiana was, ſingularly, unhealthy: but the appearance of the gentlemen alluded to is ſufficient to reſcue it from a prejudice ſo unwarranted. Judging, indeed, from what I have yet ſeen, there ſeems no cauſe to believe that the air of this coaſt is fraught with any thing of peculiar inſalubrity; or that it is, in any degree, more noxious than the atmoſphere of the iſlands.

An opportunity has, alſo, occurred to me of viewing the general face of the colony, by

making a ride of ſome miles into the country, in an open carriage; but, without attempting to give you a more minute deſcription, at preſent, I may, ſimply, confirm the remark I made at our firſt coming on ſhore—that the whole of the land is one wide-extended plain, thickly covered with cotton-buſhes, and every where interſected, with ditches and canals, like the low territory of Holland.

I have, likewiſe, made a viſit of curioſity to a coffee plantation, near the town, where I ſaw an extenſive diſplay of the riches and luxuriancy of the ſoil of Guiana. This eſtate differs from the wide fields upon the coaſt, only in being a flat ſurface of coffee, inſtead of cotton; but it is rendered rich and inviting, from being traverſed with green walks, ſhaded with fine rows of trees, whoſe loaded branches bend under the various ſpecies of tropical fruits, ſerving, at the ſame time, to delight the eye, regale the olfactories, and refreſh the palate. A pleaſant path, more than a mile in length, and of ſufficient width for carriages, leads down the middle of the eſtate, the ſides being decorated with mangoes, oranges, avagata pears, and many other kinds of fruit.

Crossing this walk, near the centre, is a thick grove of many hundreds of orange trees; clad in all the variety of umbrageous foliage, fragrant blossoms, unripe *green* and ripe *golden* fruit.

In the genial climate of Europe, under the mild sun and soft breezes of England, how delightful would be fields or gardens thus planted, and how gratefully—how exquisitely enjoyed! But, here, under the scorchings of a torrid sun, while the eye, and the olfactories, and the palate are regaled, the tortured sense of feeling precludes every possibility of enjoyment. If exposed to the open sun, the excess of heat produces insupportable languor and fatigue—and if you seek the protecting shade of the fruit trees, you are, there, tormented with the sharp bitings of myriads of musquitoes.

Invited by the grateful odour, and thinking to enjoy the cool shade, I left the broad and heated path, to ramble in the sweet avenues of the orange grove, but ere my foot had traced its second step in the cool grass, I was beset by the thousand stings of hostile

keepers, ſcarcely leſs fierce or leſs watchful, than the ſleepleſs guardian of the delicious fruits of the Heſperides; and, it requiring more than the power of Hercules to ſubdue them, I ſoon diſcovered that my beſt remedy was a haſty retreat.

In my eſcape I experienced more courteous fare; for, upon turning from the grove, a gentle nymph, who had eſpied me from the manſion, approached, in graceful ſtep, to bid me welcome; nor did ſhe withhold, like the Heſperian maids, the garden's golden produce; but, kindly, preſented me with its ſweeteſt, choiceſt fruits. In plain terms a very fine mulatto woman of the houſe, ſeeing me walking, and obſerving me to be a ſtranger, came out, with a plate of the ſweeteſt oranges of the grove, and, inviting me to eat, with much gracefulneſs and urbanity, kindly bade me welcome.

Preſently afterwards I met a robuſt negro carrying a heavy baſket of fruit upon his head, and aſking him how they diſpoſed of the immenſe numbers of oranges growing upon the eſtate, he replied "gib 'em to de

neighbours, Maſſa." My mind, again, hurried to my friends in England, and I wiſhed I could convey to you a dozen cheſts as freſh, and as fragrant as they were, then, before my eye. Although in this wiſh I could not hope to be gratified, it occurred to me, that to many of my countrymen, not ſo far diſtant, they might prove highly grateful and refreſhing; therefore, availing myſelf of the information, I wrote to Mynheer Meertens—the attorney of the eſtate, and have obtained permiſſion to gather baſkets of oranges for the ſick ſoldiers, whenever I pleaſe. To have had this the reſult of my walk, I could have extended it to the extremeſt depth of the grove, although the ſanguinary muſquitoes had intoxicated themſelves with deep draughts from my veins.

I ſhould feel it an unworthy omiſſion not to give you a copy of Mynheer Meerten's obliging note to the manager, after reading my requeſt. It was as follows: "Monſr. Keller, à l'habitation Vleſſingen aura la bonté de procurer, de tems en tems, pour les militaires qui ſont malades, les fruits tels qu'ils s'y trouvent. Il obligera, ſon très humble ſerviteur.

A. Meertens."

During the few days, ſince our arrival here, events and circumſtances have occurred, as if they had been planned for the gratification of our curioſity, or deſigned expreſsly to place before us what was likely to be moſt ſtriking to Europeans.

Already have we witneſſed the humiliating, but very intereſting ſight of a cargo of ſeveral hundreds of human ſubjects being landed from a ſlave-ſhip, and expoſed to public ſale; and on the other hand, naked beings, who range in the utmoſt freedom of human nature, have preſented themſelves in crowds to our obſervation—parties of copper-coloured Indians, from the wild woods, having come down the river in their canoes to viſit the town. It has alſo chanced to occur to me to be addreſſed by an unhappy ſlave, ſtrongly entreating me to purchaſe her from her maſter; and I have further witneſſed with ſurpriſe, the more than apathy, perhaps I might ſay, the exultation of a white lady, on hearing the cries of a negro ſuffering under the whip. Likewiſe the honor has been done me of having a young ſlave placed by my elbow at dinner time, with a fragrant bough to defend me from

the flies; and I have been complimented with a negro to sleep at my bed-room door, in order to be in readiness—in case I should require him to beat off the musquitoes, or to bring me any thing in the night.

It proves that we are here just in time to witness the setting in of the rainy season; it having announced itself by the falling of heavy showers almost every morning since our landing: and, amidst all the other *delights* and novelties of this moment, I must not forget to note, to you, that I now experience the fiery sensation of having my whole skin thickly beset with prickly heat.

We find that the Western code of hospitality, so prominent at Barbadoes, is not confined to that island. It extends equally to the coast of South America. The planters, whom I have had the pleasure to meet at Stabroek, have invited me, in the most cordial manner, to their several homes, offering me every accommodation at their plantations in the country, whenever I may find time to visit them.

Inclination ſtrongly impels me to avail myſelf of ſo pleaſant a method of ſeeing, and acquiring a knowledge of the colony; but, at preſent, the calls of duty are too urgent to allow the abſence of a ſingle day; and as it is intended that I ſhall return with the General, to head quarters, in order to proceed to St. Domingo, I ſhall probably have to lament the impoſſibility of embracing the occaſion offered to me of better knowing Demarara, and its hoſpitable inhabitants.

I ſhould tell you that the poor unhappy ſlave, who came to me to entreat, that I would purchaſe her, was a very decent young woman, here termed a "houſe-wench *." The hardſhips and ill treatment ſhe had ſuffered, had created, ſhe ſaid, ſuch an entire diſlike to her preſent home, that if ſhe could find no "*good Maſſa*" who would buy her, ſhe had reſolved to try and eſcape from her miſery by running away. The poor creature ſhuddered as ſhe mentioned this expedient, ſenſible that if ſhe ſhould be retaken, her ſufferings, great as they were, would be ſadly multiplied. Still ſhe declared ſhe was firmly reſolved to hazard

* A domeſtic ſlave—not ſent to work in the fields.

the attempt, rather than continue her present wretched life, hopeless of relief.

She wept as she spake, and the heavy tear swelled on her ebon cheek as she related the severities to which she had been subjected. Her tale was at once interesting and distressful. It needed not the aid of eloquence to move compassion. The simple narration of the hardships imposed, and the punishment inflicted for only trivial faults, instantly reached the feelings, and in strong appeal begat a new regret that whole hosts of human creatures, for the of lucre a few of their fellow beings, differing only in the colour of their skin, should be degraded to a situation, which not only deprives them of the command of their persons, but, also, robs them of all the powers of will.

Divested of every right, a slave has no redress,—not even against the bitterest wrongs: however oppressed—however injured he has no resource—no means of relief! Not having the power of changing his home, he has no escape from ill usage or cruelty; but is con-

demned to travel the long journey of life in hopeless discontent.

The corporal punishment of slaves is so frequent, that instead of exciting the repugnant sensations, felt by Europeans on first witnessing it, scarcely does it produce, in the breasts of those long accustomed to the West Indies, even the slightest feeling of compassion. The lady I have above alluded to appears of good natural disposition, and in no degree disposed to general cruelty; but the frequency of the sight has rendered her callous to its common influence upon the feelings. Being one morning at her house, while sitting in conversation, we suddenly heard the loud cries of a negro suffering under the whip. Mrs. —— expressed surprize on observing me shudder at his shrieks, and you will believe that I was in utter astonishment to find her treat his sufferings as matter of amusement. It proved that the punishment proceeded from the arm of the lady's husband, and fell upon one of her own slaves; and, can you believe that on learning this, she exclaimed with a broad smile, "Aha! it will do him good! a little wholesome flagel-

lation will refresh him.—It will sober him.—It will open his skin, and make him alert. If Y— was to give it them all, it would be of service to them !"

I could not compliment the lady upon her humanity. The loud clang of the whip continued, and the poor imploring negro as loudly cried "*Oh Massa, Massa—God a'mighty—God bless you Massa ! I beg you pardon ! Oh ! Massa, Oh ! I beg you pardon ! Oh ! God a'mighty—God bless you !*"—Still the whip sounded aloud, and still the lady cried "Aye, it's very necessary !"

Presently I learned that this unfortunate slave was punished for drunkenness, having become intoxicated, in consequence of his mistress treating him with money to buy rum. I could not but remark that in such case it doubly became her to petition her husband, in behalf of the poor man ; observing, that at all events, it must be quite useless to punish him, while he was in a state not to be sensible of the crime. To this the *tender* lady replied, —"Aye but if Y— was to spare him till morning he wouldn't *give it* him then !"

Such is the effect of habit in ſubduing even our moſt amiable feelings. Could this lady have known how much her remarks deformed her, policy had, no doubt, led to a different expreſſion, although humanity had not taught, nor habit allowed her to feel a different ſentiment!

Let me aſk you, my friend, what you would ſay were you to ſee me return home as rich as a Weſt India planter, or an Eaſtern Nabob? Know that ſanguine whiſper fondly augments the value of our captured property to upwards of £200,000! What if I ſhould chance to ſhare to a weighty amount, and, in the event of our proceeding to new conqueſts, return to my friends with . . . . a *Benjamin Jack!* We hear of various ſhips, of extenſive ſtores, of large eſtates, and of whole gangs of ſlaves, all public property, to be confiſcated for the benefit of the *captors.* Knowing with what *facility* prize money finds its way into the ſoldier's pocket, you will ſmile at the riches of your friend, thus acquired; and, perhaps, would deem it a hazardous ſpeculation to offer a £5 note for my whole ſhare of profits. Still, being here, in the direction of a depart-

ment, I am really told, that I ought to calculate upon receiving a ſum by no means deſpicable. My expectations, however, do not run very high, being aware of the cloſe meltings, which ſuch kind of property uſually undergoes, before it becomes ſufficiently refined for the pockets of the captors *.

* It proved that conſiderable property was actually condemned and ſold; but not the ſmalleſt dividend has yet been paid to thoſe entitled to it. .... January 1806.

LETTER XII.

Barbadoes the metropolis of the West Indies. News, letters, and tidings of the army reach Guiana, viâ, Barbadoes. Great body of the armament sails from Carlisle bay. Sir Hugh Christian arrives at Barbadoes. Colony of Berbische surrenders to the English. Roads of mud and clay. Dutch cuisine better than the English. Dutch devoted to the pleasures of the table. Slaves sent to cut grass for sale. Punishment of a slave. Author and a party make an excursion to Mr. Osborn's. Visit to Mr. Dougan's. Happy condition of Mr. Dougan's slaves: —— of Mr. Osborn's. Negroes in the West Indies sit round a fire in the evening. Musquitoes and fire flies.

Stabroek, May, 6.

PREVIOUS to giving you the intelligence which reaches us at this place, it were fit to inform you that the island of Barbadoes is now become, as it were, the London of the West Indies—the great capital to which we anxiously look for events, and for news. Removed to a greater distance from you, and without any direct communication, we seem dependent upon this sub-metropolis; and we learn

the tidings of England, of Europe, of the West India Islands, and of the great body of our army, only as conveyed to us, indirectly, viâ Barbadoes.

Two vessels have arrived from thence, and by these we learn that the Commander in chief, and the troops did not sail until the 21st of April, being six days after the time we left Barbadoes. It was not publicly known whether they had gone against Guadaloupe, or St. Lucie; but, from all the circumstances of the armament, it seems now to be the current opinion that Guadaloupe is not likely to be attacked during this campaign.

We are told that Admiral Christian arrived just before the troops sailed from Barbadoes, bringing with him twenty-seven sail of vessels, the remnant of the immense fleet with which he originally sailed, in the month of November: and it now appears that the ships which were in sight off Carlisle bay, at the time we left it, were only a division of the convoy, and that the Admiral did not reach Barbadoes until some time after.

We hear that the colony of Berbiſche has ſurrendered to the troops detached from hence; but the intelligence is not yet officially confirmed.

You will not envy our walks in the neighbourhood of Stabroek, when I tell you that the wet ſeaſon is now completely ſet in, and that, from the whole ſoil being of pure mud and clay, we can ſcarcely move a ſtep from the door without being ancle-deep. Such roads ſurely were never ſeen; and, not yet having an opportunity of purchaſing a horſe, I am daily compelled, either to walk up to mid-leg in wet clay, or to drag my limbs through a path ſtill deeper in mud.

Can you believe that, when dining a few days ſince with a party of gentlemen, at Stabroek, I ſhould have heard it aſſerted that we had nothing good in England but - - - - - beef! It was the opinion of a Dutchman; and I felt ſome ſurprize, on hearing ſeveral of my countrymen add, that the Dutch have certainly a better knowledge of the good things of the table, poſſeſs more of them, prepare them better, and are more devoted to the pleaſures of the board

than the English. I wished for some of our gouty friends, or our generous and portly citizens of London, to debate the question. The palm had not then, perhaps, been tacitly surrendered. More of stews and hashes they may have, but it were difficult to convince an Englishman that they have better food, or fonder stomachs *.

Something of novelty—scenes and events different from all we have been accustomed to in Europe, occur almost daily to our observation; but I am afraid of falling into a tedious tautology by detailing them to you as they chance to arise: yet I like to give you them as they occur; for, should I wait to compress them under regular and appropriate heads, you might never have them at all; or they might be divested of the only merit they possess—that of being fresh from the immediate feelings of a first impression: I,

* The author is assured by a friend, who has long resided among the Dutch, that the citizens of Amsterdam are more pampered than those of London—that they bestow more attention respecting the preparation of their food—that good eating and good cooking are more studied, and that the making of seasoned dishes is more a business among the Hollanders.

therefore, proceed in my own way to tell you that, ſince the date of my laſt letter, I have been witneſs to a gentleman calling up one of his ſlaves, into the breakfaſt room, and giving him orders to go with three others into the fields, the high-ways, or the woods, and cut graſs, to ſell in the town, charging him to recollect that it was at the pain of a "good flogging" if they did not each bring him home four bits * at night, and adding, by way of encouragement, that, if they could gain more, they might keep the ſurplus for themſelves. They went out, each taking a long knife and a ſtring, and returned, punctually, in the evening with the ſixteen bits.

Unfortunately I am now enabled to ſpeak of the puniſhment of a ſlave, which was far more ſevere than that mentioned in my laſt letter; and, I am ſorry to add, attended with ſimilar marks of inſenſibility, and want of feeling, on the part of a white female. Happening to call one morning upon a lady at Stabroek, in company with ſeveral Europeans who had been my fellow-paſſengers hither,

* About 1s. 8d. ſterling.

we were ſcarcely ſeated before we heard the bleeding clang of the whip, and the painful cries of a poor unfortunate black. The lady of the houſe, more accuſtomed to ſcenes of ſlavery than ourſelves, pointing to the ſpot, as if it were a pleaſant ſight for ſtrangers, or ſomething that might divert us, aſked, with apparent glee, if we ſaw them "*flogging the negre?*" Truly we ſaw the whole too clearly. A poor unhappy ſlave was ſtretched out naked, upon the open ſtreet, tied down with his face to the ground before the fiſcal's door, his two legs extended to one ſtake, his arms ſtrained out, at full length, to two others in form of the letter Y, and, thus ſecured to the earth, two ſtrong-armed drivers *, placed at his ſides, were cutting his bare ſkin, by turns, with long heavy-laſhed whips, which, from the ſound, alone, without ſeeing the blood that followed, conveyed the idea of tearing away pieces of fleſh at every ſtroke.

Conſiſtent with the freedom, and im-

* Slaves ſo termed from being promoted to the diſtinguiſhed office of following their comrades, upon all occaſions, with a whip at their backs, as an Engliſh carter follows his horſes.

partiality I have always obſerved in offering you my "notes," I am extremely happy to be able to relieve you from this painful ſcene, by preſenting to you one of a very oppoſite nature —one in which I am ſure every feeling of your heart will warmly participate. A party of recently arrived Europeans went by invitation to dine at "Arcadia"—the plantation of a Mr. Oſborn, about eight miles from Stabroek. Five ſlaves were ſent, with a handſome covered boat to fetch us, in which we had a moſt pleaſant ſail, about ſix miles up the river, and, then, coming into a canal, which led to the eſtate, we were drawn about two miles further, by the negroes running at the ſide of the canal, ſinging all the way, and pulling, in merry tune, together. On our arrival at Mr. Oſborn's, we were preſented with wine, fruits, and various refreſhments; and, afterwards, were amuſed till dinner-time in viewing the coffee plantation, the negro yard, and the different premiſes. At dinner we ſhared all the good things of the colony, and, in the afternoon, were conducted acroſs the canal to viſit the eſtate, and happy home of Mr. Dougan, a neighbour whom Mr. Oſborn had invited to meet us.—Here we found a rich ſugar

plantation bordered with coffee and fruits. Leading to the ſugar fields, were fine rows of fruit trees, laden with oranges, forbidden fruit, ſhaddocks, and citrons—the ſhaddocks and forbidden fruit very ſuperior to any I had before taſted, indeed ſo exquiſite, that perhaps I might ſay they were the fineſt ſpecies of the two fineſt fruits produced in the whole garden of nature.

I cannot expreſs to you how much we were gratified—how peculiarly we were delighted with all we ſaw at this happy abode of Mr. Dougan. The plantation is laid out with much taſte, and having every advantage of culture, it exhibits, in high perfection, all the luxuriancy of a rich tropical eſtate. Utility, pleaſure, and convenience, are here moſt happily combined. A private canal leads through the middle of the grounds, and ſerves, at once, for ornament and pleaſure, as well as for bringing home the copious harveſts of coffee and ſugar.

At its ſides are ſmooth walks of graſs; and between theſe and the ſugar canes are borders planted with all the choice tropical fruits,

rendering a promenade upon the water, or its banks, moſt fragrant and inviting, and offering to the eye and the palate all the variety of oranges, ſhaddocks, limes, lemons, cherries, cuſtard apples, caſhew apples, avagata pears, grenadilloes, water-lemons, mangoes, and pines. The other walks, which traverſe the plantation, are alſo cool and fragrant avenues of fruit trees.

But however great the richneſs, beauty, and fragrance of the eſtate, its canals, and its walks, ſtill I am ſenſible that I ſhall more firmly ſecure your attachment to it, by mentioning the ſimple fact that, to ſlavery, it affords . . . . . a happy home!

I know not whether, upon any occaſion, ſince my departure from England, I have experienced ſuch true and heart-felt pleaſure as in witneſſing the high degree of comfort and happineſs enjoyed by the ſlaves of "Profit." Mr. Dougan not only grants them many little indulgences, and ſtudies to make them happy, but he generouſly foſters them with a father's care; and they, ſenſible of his tenderneſs towards them, look

to their revered maſter as a kind and affectionate parent; and with undivided—unſophiſticated attachment cheerfully devote, to him, their labour and their lives.

Not ſatisfied with beſtowing upon his ſlaves mere food and raiment, Mr. Dougan eſtabliſhes for them a kind of right. He aſſures to them certain property, endeavors to excite feelings of emulation among them, and to inſpire them with a ſpirit of neatneſs and order, not commonly known among ſlaves: and I am happy to add that the effects of his friendly attentions, towards them, are ſtrongly manifeſted in their perſons, their dwellings, and their general demeanour.—Perhaps it were not too much to ſay, that the negro yard at "Profit" forms one of the happieſt villages within the wide circle of the globe! The labouring poor of Europe can attain to no ſtate at all adequate to ſuch ſlavery, for had they equal comforts, ſtill could they never be equally free from care.

The ſlaves of Mr. Dougan are not only fed, and clothed, and tenderly watched in ſickneſs, without any perſonal thought, or con-

cern, but each has his appropriate ſpot of ground, and his cottage, in which he feels a right as ſacred as if ſecured to him by all the ſeals and parchments of the Lord High Chancellor of England, and his court.

Happy and contented, the ſlave of "Profit" ſees all his wants ſupplied. Having never been in a ſtate of freedom, he has no deſire for it. Not having known liberty, he feels not the privation of it; nor is it within the powers of his mind either to conceive or comprehend the ſenſe we attach to the term. Were freedom offered to him he would refuſe to accept it, and would only view it as a ſtate fraught with certain difficulties and vexations, but offering no commenſurate good. "Who gib me for gnyhaam Maſſa," he aſks "if me free?" "Who gib me clothes!" "Who ſend me doctor when me ſick?"

With induſtry a ſlave has no acquaintance, nor has he any knowledge of the kind of comfort and independence which derive from it. Ambition has not taught him that, in freedom, he might eſcape from poverty—nor has he any conception that by improving

his intellect he might become of higher importance in the ſcale of humanity. Thus circumſtanced, to remove him from the quiet and contentment of ſuch a bondage, and to place him amidſt the tumults and viciſſitudes of freedom, were but to impoſe upon him the exchange of great comparative happineſs, for much of poſitive miſery and diſtreſs.

From what has been ſaid you will perceive that to do juſtice to the merit of Mr. Dougan, would require a far more able pen. His humane and liberal conduct does him infinite honor; while the richneſs of the eſtate and the happineſs of the ſlaves loudly proclaim his attentive concern. We were pleaſed with all around us, but to witneſs ſo happy a ſtate of ſlavery gave us peculiar delight.

The cottages and little gardens of the negroes exhibited a degree of neatneſs, and of plenty, that might be envied by free-born Britons, not of the pooreſt claſs. The huts of Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, nay, many, even of England itſelf, bear no compariſon with theſe. In impulſive delight I

ran into many of them, surprizing the slaves with an unexpected visit, and, verily, I say the peasantry of Europe might envy these dwellings of slavery. They mostly consist of a comfortable sitting room, and a neat, well-furnished bed room. In one I observed a high bedstead, according to the present European fashion, with deep mattresses, all neatly made up, and covered with a clean white counterpane; the bed-posts, drawers, and chairs bearing the high polish of well-rubbed mahogany. I felt a desire to pillow my head in this hut for the night, it not having fallen to my lot, since I left England, to repose on so inviting a couch. The value of the whole was tenfold augmented by the contented slaves being able to say—"all this we feel to be our own."

Too often in regarding the countenance of a slave, it may be observed that

> "Dark melancholy sits, and round her throws
> A death-like silence, and a dread repose."

but throughout Mr. Dougan's happy gang the more striking features are those of mirth and glee; for, here, the merry dance and jovial

ſong prevail, and all are votaries, to joy and harmony.

Before the doors of the huts, and around theſe peaceful dwellings were ſeen great numbers of pigs, and poultry, which the ſlaves are allowed to raiſe for their own profit; and from the ſtock, thus bred in the negro yard, the maſter uſually purchaſes the proviſions of his table, paying to the negroes the common price for which they would ſell at the market.

The conduct of Mr. Oſborn to his ſlaves, and, indeed, of many others I might mention, is alſo very highly commendable. The negroes at Arcadia have much cauſe of contentment; their happineſs and welfare being guarded with a parental care. Were all maſters kind and humane as Mr. Dougan, and his neighbour, ſlavery might have few enemies; and the peaſants of Europe, amidſt their boaſted freedom, might ſigh, in vain, for the happineſs enjoyed———by ſlaves!

As we were leaving Mr. Oſborn's, in the evening, we ſaw a numerous party of his *gang* grouped upon their haunches round

a large fire, ſeeming to enjoy it as if it relieved them from freezing cold. Remarking upon the ſingularity of this, with the thermometer at nearly 80°, it was obſerved to us that they required it for roaſting their plantains, ſtewing their pepper-pot, and preparing their other little meſſes for ſupper; and, moreover, that the negroes were always chilly in the evening, and would be quite comfortleſs without a fire.

Owing to the tide being out, at the time we returned, there was not ſufficient water in the canal to admit of our going down in the boat, we, therefore, were compelled to walk nearly two miles before we embarked. During this walk, we were in danger of being devoured by thoſe annoying inſects the muſquitoes, which attacked us in ſuch daring hoſts that we were obliged to walk with ſmall boughs in our hands, and to continue, the whole time, beating them from our legs and faces.

The fire flies were, ſcarcely, leſs numerous than the muſquitoes; but, although we were annoyed by their flying againſt us, we ſuffered no pain from them. They neither tormented

us with bites, nor ſtings—but in ſuch myriads did they dart and play about us that we appeared to be moving in an atmoſphere of twinkling ſtars. One piece of coffee, in particular, had its whole ſurface ſo illumined by theſe inſects, as to convey the idea of the field being ſpread with a ſheet of fire. After we went into the boat, and had proceeded towards the middle of the river, both fire flies and muſquitoes forſook us; and we were, pleaſantly rowed down to the town by four of Mr. Oſborn's contented ſlaves.

LETTER XIII.

Terms of capitulation of the colonies on the coast of Guiana. Dutch soldiers enter into the British service. South American Rangers. Situation of the captured colonies. Beef brought from the Spanish woods. Generosity of some of the planters towards the sick soldiers. Troops on board ship a great annoyance to the captain and his crew. The Grenada returns to England. Mr. Porter and family passengers. A sale of slaves. Scarcity of mechanics. Extravagant wages of labour. Case of yellow fever. Impropriety of the term "yellow fever."

Stabroek, May 8.

CONSISTENT with the order of narrative you wish me to observe in offering you my notes, I may now tell you that the general, and part of the detachment that accompanied him, are returned to Demarara, leaving the 93d regiment, in garrison, at Berbische—that colony having capitulated upon the same terms as Essequibo and Demarara. The commerce of the colonies is to be directed to the ports of England; in return for which she offers them protection and defence. All that concerns the military proceedings is to rest with the English; but, in all that regards the civil

administration, the colonies are to preserve the established laws and form of government, until the end of the war; and the present Dutch governors are not to be removed.

Under these conditions most of the Dutch soldiers, who were in garrison, have consented to enlist into our service, and to act conjointly with our troops in defence of the colonies. We thus acquire the aid of a corps well seasoned to the country, in good discipline, and ready, at all moments, to act in concert for the general benefit of the settlements.

It is likewise intended to strengthen the garrison by forming a corps of negroes to be called "The South American Rangers." This will be a valuable addition to our force, as these men are not subject to the debilitating effects of climate, but are most active in the greatest heat; and are capable of supporting the most fatiguing duties under the direct rays of a vertical sun.

The Dutch colony of Surinam borders Berbische, on our right, and a little further up the coast is the French colony of Cayenne.

With ſuch reſtleſs neighbours about us, we ſhall require to be watchful and alert. On our left we approach the river Oronoko, and what is termed the Spaniſh main: and not far from the coaſt of Eſſequibo is the Spaniſh iſland of Trinidad. From this quarter we hope to procure beef—from the other we expect only blows.

A communication is to be opened directly with the Spaniards, in order to negociate the purchaſe of cattle from the woods—which, we are told, they will be glad to ſell at ſix or ſeven dollars per head.

We are now very much in want of freſh animal proviſions; for, ſince the time of our arrival, I have only been able to purchaſe two or three ſmall ſheep, for the uſe of the hoſpital. But, as the guardian of the ſick, I owe much gratitude to the gentlemen of the colony, for ſome liberal preſents of beef and mutton, which their humanity has induced them to ſend to the hoſpital for the comfort of the ſuffering ſoldiers. Two neighbouring gentlemen, in particular—Mr. T. Cuming, and Mr. Waterton have the prayers of the ſick, and the beſt acknowledgments of their

attendants. Occaſionally they have ſent us an ox, or a ſheep; or have ſhared, with the ſick, the beſt proviſions of their table.

Fruits are given to us from various eſtates, not only by gallons and buſhels, but by cart-loads and boat-loads, at a time; and, by theſe generous aids, we have been able to improve the comforts of the ſick, beyond all that money could have obtained.

Until the 28th of April we continued to have a ſick-ward on board the Grenada; but we have now, to the great joy of Captain Richardſon, taken the whole of the men on ſhore, and placed them in hoſpital, at an eſtate called La Bourgade.

Mr. Richardſon is a good ſailor, and, moreover, a very reſpectable man, and of more improved manners than many of his colleagues. He is not only captain of the ſhip, but has alſo a ſhare as owner. He frankly tells us how much he is rejoiced to have done with us, and aſſures us that his ſhip ſhall never, again, while he commands her, be incommoded with ſuch a troubleſome crowd. I

can feel what a ſad annoyance it muſt be to the maſter of a veſſel to be driven out of his cabin to ſeek a birth in any hole or corner he can find, and to have his ſhip ſtowed, for many weeks, with an uſeleſs and helpleſs throng, who, every moment, interrupt the working of the veſſel, and are, perpetually, in the way of the tiller and the ropes.

Being now releaſed, the Grenada proceeds to take in a cargo of cotton or ſugar, in order to return with all ſpeed to England. Her cabin is already engaged by a Mr. Porter, who is about to quit the fatigues of a tropical world, and to retire to Europe with his family. This gentleman was one of the earlieſt planters who ventured to direct his labours to the cultivation of the ſea coaſt, inſtead of the banks of the river, and who has turned his induſtry to a profitable account; his well-merited ſucceſs enabling him to return to England poſſeſſed of a very large fortune.

A few days ago I had the opportunity of being preſent at a more regular ſale, or market of ſlaves than I had ſeen before, and here I witneſſed all the heart-rending diſtreſs attend-

ant upon ſuch a ſcene. I ſaw numbers of our fellow beings regularly bartered for gold, and transferred, like cattle, or any common merchandiſe, from one poſſeſſor to another. It was a ſight which European curioſity had rendered me deſirous to behold, although I had anticipated from it only a painful gratification. I may now ſay—*I have ſeen it!*—and while nature animates my breaſt with even the feebleſt ſpark of humanity, I can never forget it!

The poor Africans, who were to be ſold, were expoſed, naked, in a large empty building, like an open barn. Thoſe, who came, with intention to purchaſe, minutely inſpected them; handled them; made them jump, and ſtamp with their feet, and throw out their arms and their legs; turned them about; looked into their mouths; and, according to the uſual rules of traffic with reſpect to cattle, examined them, and made them ſhew themſelves in a variety of ways, to try if they were ſound and healthy. All this was diſtreſsful as humiliating, and tended to excite ſtrong averſion and diſguſt; but a wound, ſtill more ſevere, was inflicted on the feelings, by ſome of the purchaſers ſelecting only ſuch as their judgment

led them to prefer, regardleſs of the bonds of nature, and affection! The urgent appeals of friendſhip and attachment were unheeded; ſighs and tears made no impreſſion; and all the imploring looks, and penetrating expreſſions of grief were unavailing. Hungry commerce corroded even the golden chains of affection; and ſordid intereſt burſt every tie of nature aſunder. The huſband was taken from the wife, children ſeparated from their parents, and the lover torn from his miſtreſs:—the companion was bought away from his friend, and the brother not ſuffered to accompany the ſiſter.

In one part of the building was ſeen a wife clinging to her huſband, and beſeeching, in the ſtrongeſt eloquence of nature, not to be left behind him. Here was a ſiſter hanging upon the neck of her brother, and, with tears, entreating to be led to the ſame home of captivity. There ſtood two brothers, enfolded in each others arms, mutually bewailing their threatened ſeparation. In other parts were friends, relatives, and companions, praying to be ſold to the ſame maſter—uſing ſigns to ſignify that they would be

content with ſlavery, might they but toil together.

Silent tears, deep ſighs, and heavy lamentations beſpoke the univerſal ſuffering of theſe poor blacks, and proved that nature was ever true to her feelings. Never was ſcene more diſtreſsful. Among theſe unhappy, degraded Africans ſcarcely was there an unclouded countenance. Every feature was veiled in the ſilent gloom of woe; and ſorrowing nature poured forth in all the bitterneſs of affliction.

A whole hoſt of painful ideas ruſhed into my mind at the moment. In ſad contemplation all the diſtorted images of this abhorrent traffic preſented themſelves to my recollection. The many horrors and cruelties, I had ſo often heard of, appeared in their worſt ſhape before me; and my imagination was acutely alive to the unmerited puniſhment ſometimes inflicted—the inceſſant labour exacted—the want of freedom—and all the catalogue of hardſhips endured by ſlaves. I endeavored to combat the effect of theſe impreſſions by attaching my mind to oppoſite images. The

kind treatment of negroes under humane masters occurred to me; I recollected the comfort and harmony of the slaves I had lately seen at "Profit." I contemplated their freedom from care, and the many anxieties of the world; and I remembered the happiness and contentment expressed in their songs and merry dances: but—all in vain! The repugnant influence would not thus be cheated. With such distress, before my eyes, all palliatives were unavailing. The whole was wrong, and not to be justified. I felt that I execrated every principle of the traffic. Nature revolted at it; and I condemned the whole system of slavery under all its forms and modifications.

When purchased, the slaves were marked by placing a bit of string, or of red or white tape round their arms or necks. One gentleman, who bought a considerable number of them, was proceeding to distinguish those he had selected, by tying a bit of red tape round the neck, when I observed two negroes, who were standing together entwined in each others arms, watch him with great anxiety. Presently he approached them, and after making

his examination affixed the mark only to one of them. The other, with a look of unerring expreſſion, and, with an impulſe of marked diſappointment, caſt his eyes up to the purchaſer ſeeming to ſay—"and will you not have me too?"—then jumped, and danced, and ſtamped with his feet, and made other ſigns to ſignify that he, alſo, was ſound and ſtrong, and worthy his choice. He was, nevertheleſs, paſſed by unregarded; upon which he turned, again, to his companion, his friend, brother, whichever he was, took him to his boſom, hung upon him, and, in ſorrowful countenance expreſſed the ſtrongeſt marks of diſappointment and affliction. The feeling was mutual:—it aroſe from reciprocal affection. His friend participated in his grief, and they both wept bitterly. Soon afterwards on looking round to complete his purchaſe the planter, again, paſſed that way, and not finding any one that better ſuited his purpoſe, he, now, hung the token of choice round the neck of the negro whom he had before diſregarded. All the powers of art could not have effected the change that followed. More genuine joy was never expreſſed. His countenance became enlivened.

Grief and ſadneſs vaniſhed, and flying into the arms of his friend, he careſſed him with warm embraces, then ſkipped, and jumped, and danced about, exhibiting all the pureſt ſigns of mirth and gratification. His companion, not leſs delighted, received him with reciprocal feelings—and a more pure and native ſympathy was never exhibited. Happy in being, again, aſſociated, they now retired apart from the crowd, and ſat down, in quiet contentment, hugging and kiſſing the red ſignal of bondage, like two attached and affectionate brothers—ſatisſied to toil out their days, for an unknown maſter, ſo they might but travel their journey of ſlavery together.

In the afternoon of the ſame day I chanced to be preſent when another gentleman came to purchaſe ſome of the ſlaves, who were not ſold in the morning. After looking through the lot he remarked that he did not ſee any who were of pleaſant countenance; and going on to make further objections, reſpecting their appearance, he was interrupted by the vendor who remarked that at that moment they were ſeen to great diſadvantage, as they looked worſe "*from having*

lost their friends and associates in the morning." Aye! truly, I could have replied—a very powerful reason why they are unfit for sale this afternoon! If to be of smiling countenance were necessary to their being sold, it were politic not to expose them for long to come. Still, some were selected, and the mark of purchase being made, the distressful scene of the morning was, in a degree, repeated.

A few of the most ill-looking, only, now remained, who were meager, and of rough skin—not thoroughly black, but of a yellowish, or dirty brown color—of hungry, unhealthy aspect, feeble, of hideous countenance, and in general appearance scarcely human. These remained to a future day, and would, probably, be sold, not to the planters, but to the boatwomen, tailors, hucksters, or some of the inferior mechanics, or shopkeepers of the town, at a price somewhat lower than that demanded for the more robust, and well-looking; and, alas! though least able to bear fatigue, these feeble beings would, most likely, be subjected to a far more heavy slavery than those of stronger frame, for it is, commonly, seen that the labour

exacted by the poorer orders of people, from their few and weakly ſlaves, is more ſevere than that required by the opulent planter from his regular, and better-appointed gang: although, *in theory*, the circumſtance of being always under the eye of the maſter, inſtead of being left to the mercy of a hireling, would ſeem to be an advantage much in favor of the ſlaves of thoſe owners, who poſſeſs but few.

You will not be ſurpriſed that we ſhould find it extremely difficult to procure a ſufficient number of workmen and labourers, in this colony, for the ſervices required. Although the wages of labour are extravagantly high, an extraordinary number of hands for any emergency cannot be obtained, without having recourſe to a ſyſtem of coercion. The work required to be done at the fort in conſtructing new batteries, and improving our means of defence, being urgent and extenſive, it is found neceſſary to detain the mechanics, who are employed, by very cloſe watching; otherwiſe, although they are exorbitantly paid, they could not be relied upon for a ſingle day. It has been found neceſſary to procure the mere

labourers by requisition—a certain number of negroes being demanded, for a given number of days, from every gang in the colony.

We feel the effect of this scarcity of workmen, very much, at the hospital, for after using every exertion of which I am capable, I have to lament that we do not yet see the accommodations, for the sick, so complete as I had hoped. As a great indulgence I have now obtained a party of six carpenters to be employed, exclusively, at the hospital, until they shall have finished such repairs and alterations as are required. But the claims of every department, and almost every individual, upon this class of workmen, are so numerous and pressing, that I quite despair of confining them to the work of the hospital, for any two days together.

It is with real sorrow and affliction that I find myself enabled to inform you of our being likely to become acquainted with that merciless yellow fury who has, of late years, so frightfully ravaged the West India colonies; and regarding whom so much of dread and alarm prevails in Europe.

A few days ſince a ſoldier was ſeized by this hungry devourer, and, in deſpite of all our efforts to reſcue him, he fell a ſacrifice to her inſatiate thirſt for European blood.

This was the firſt patient admitted into the hoſpital with the direful malady of the country, called "yellow fever," and it had afforded us peculiar ſatisfaction had we been happy enough to have ſaved him : but the diſeaſe had made great progreſs before he was brought to us, and he died on the 6th day after his admiſſion.

The body was examined, with a view to aſcertain the changes produced by the diſeaſe, but the appearances were not preciſely ſuch, as from converſing with other practitioners, and reading a variety of authors, we had been led to expect. The ſtomach was found to be the organ which exhibited the ſtrongeſt marks of derangement. The inner coat was ſurcharged with blood, appearing very red, and at one ſpot near the upper orifice it was of a livid hue, and its texture ſo weakened, that the finger was paſſed through it, by only a ſlight preſſure. I ſincerely hope

that frequent opportunities may not occur, but if, unhappily, they ſhould we ſhall avail ourſelves of them, in the hope of aſcertaining, correctly what are the diſeaſed appearances cauſed in the different viſcera by this fatal malady.

The name commonly given to this diſorder would ſeem to be highly inaccurate. Our patient, although ſeveral days ill, had no yellowneſs of the ſkin, until a few hours before he died. If, therefore, his diſſolution had occurred only a ſhort time ſooner; or if he had recovered previous to the period when this change of colour took place, we could not with any correctneſs have called the fever he had ſuffered a *yellow* fever, although he had undergone all the characteriſtic ſymptoms of the diſeaſe, ſo termed, except the caſual one from which it has been improperly named. Moreover, affixing to a diſeaſe a name derived from a ſymptom, and particularly a ſymptom which is not always preſent, is calculated to deceive, and may be of dangerous tendency, by rendering the practitioner unſuſpicious of the real nature of the diſorder, until it is too late to check its deſtructive progreſs.

LETTER XIV.

The author is left in the colonies of Guiana, inſtead of proceeding to St. Domingo. Regimental medical ſtaff employed in general hoſpital. General Whyte attentive to the ſick. The hoſpital and quarters for the medical officers eſtabliſhed at La Bourgade. Author annoyed by inſects. Tenderneſs of a Gentleman towards a muſquito. Author makes a ſauntering ramble to "the buſh." His contemplations on being arreſted by deep and impenetrable woods. A lady ſolicits the Author to make a complaint againſt her ſlaves.

Demarara May 12.

I HAVE already troubled you with too many ſpecimens of the uncertainties attaching to my preſent mode of life, for you to feel ſurprize at any new inſtance I may have to relate. Know then that I have experienced a ſad diſappointment, in having to make my congé to the General, on his return to the iſlands; and, after all my expectations of being ſoon at St. Domingo, am left behind with inſtructions to continue in the direction of the medical department of theſe colonies, until our detachment of the St. Domingo hoſpital ſtaff, ſhall

be relieved from the ſtaff of the Charibbee Iſlands.

Inſtead of my being permitted to proceed with the General to head quarters, it is found requiſite that the detachment of the hoſpital ſtaff, ſerving here, ſhould be augmented. I have made out a return of the medical eſtabliſhment, which ſeems neceſſary for theſe colonies, and ſtill hope that we may ſoon be relieved, and allowed to proceed to our original deſtination: but I begin to have ſome apprehenſions leſt the many uncertainties, which beſet us, ſhould prevent me from following my friends and my baggage, and I feel a ſtrong regret that I was prevailed upon to leave the latter behind me.

In conſequence of the ſick-liſt becoming numerous, and the hoſpital being deprived of the ſervices of poor Carrol, who, though a convaleſcent from his late attack, is unfit for duty in this climate, and has obtained leave to return to England, we are compelled to employ the medical officers of the regiments in the duties of the general hoſpital.

I have great pleaſure in remarking to you, that General Whyte has been particularly attentive to the comfort of the ſick, and the general accommodation of the hoſpital department. In every thing propoſed for the benefit of the ſuffering ſoldiers, we have always been happy enough to meet with his full and ready acquieſcence. It has only been neceſſary to point out what was required, and every attention was immediately given to the repreſentation. You will believe that this has been highly gratifying to me, and the more ſo, when I add that the meaſures propoſed have not been indifferently acceded to, but examined with a degree of attentive conſideration, not leſs honorable to the General than ſatisfactory to myſelf.

It is alſo with much pleaſure that I am enabled to add that Colonel Hiſlop, who ſucceeds to the command, is a man of great humanity and benevolence, and that we have every proſpect of finding him deſirous to follow the General's example in promoting the comfort and well-being of thoſe who are in ſickneſs.

Before he left us, General Whyte gave orders that a large cotton logis at La Bourgade

ſhould be given up to the purpoſes of the hoſpital, and that a houſe near to it ſhould be appropriated to the uſe of the medical officers. Thus have we the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the ſick, and the whole of the department, very conveniently accommodated—the patients being lodged in a ſpacious and well aired building; and their attendants having commodious quarters immediately near to them, with convenient offices, and, what is of conſequence in this climate, a large ciſtern for water adjoining— the whole poſſeſſing the further advantage of being ſeparated from all other buildings, and ſtanding within a ſquare of ground of conſiderable extent, encloſed with private gates in front, and a deep ditch or canal on every ſide.

Here are we ſtationed, as a diſtinct department, quiet, and ſecluded—free from the noiſe and hurry both of the town and the fort, and nearly equidiſtant from the one and the other. The public road, from the fort to the town, paſſes cloſe by the gates; and within leſs than a hundred yards from the road is the ſea, or rather the opening of the river, ſo that the ſick are brought to us, conveniently on either

ſide, by land, or by water. Perhaps another ſituation equally commodious for the purpoſes of the hoſpital department could not have been found in the colony.

Already have I changed my quarters from Stabroek to our new home at La Bourgade, and in future I ſhall be ſpared the neceſſity of dragging my legs through the deep mud, twice or thrice each day, in my viſits to the hoſpital : but it does not ſeem probable that I ſhall long remain ſtationary, for I have received inſtructions to proceed to the colony of Berbiſche, to make arrangements for the hoſpital department there, as ſoon as I ſhall have brought theſe at La Bourgade into a proper eſtabliſhment.

Fortunately my bedding was not left behind with my other baggage, and this is now put up in the windward apartment at our hoſpital barrack, where I look forward to much comfort, from the protection of my muſquito curtain *.

* A kind of gauze net without opening, thrown over the whole of the bed and bedſtead, and ſhut cloſe at bottom, by means of a heavy border of lead, which falls upon the floor.

I find the diſtreſſing annoyance of inſects a far greater evil than the increaſed temperature, or any other ill of climate. I now ſuffer conſiderably from the "prickly heat," but this would be very ſupportable were it not for the additional, and greater torment of muſquitoes, ants, centipedes, jack-ſpaniards,* and the multitudes of other inſects biting, buzzing about our ears, crawling upon every thing we touch, and filling the whole atmoſphere around us.

My nights have lately been made ſo wretchedly comfortleſs, that I have now eſtabliſhed the habit of burning wet ſtraw in my room, before I go to bed, in order to ſmoke out the inſects. I likewiſe practiſe the habit of looking under my netting, with a lighted candle, after it is let down for the night, to ſee if any ſtragglers have been left withinſide, and if I find any there, I conſider them as enemies lurking for my blood, and, immediately, put them to death. Selfiſhly looking to a good night's reſt from his deſtruction, I have no compunction in taking away the life . . . . of a muſquito! Without contemplating the poſſible extent of his utility in

* A large ſpecies of waſp.

the great ſcale of creation, I cruſh him with as little mercy as a chambermaid cracks a hopping flea. If you knew the acuteneſs of his bite, you would feel aſſured that he is not tortured with a lingering death. Nothing can be more prompt than his execution, and I think I might venture to aſſert that he ſuffers not a ſingle moment of pain.

While my pen is employed upon this mighty ſubject, it occurs to me as a queſtion whether even the rigorous principles of the moſt devoted Brahmin would ſo diſcipline his mind in religious and philoſophical forbearance, as to induce him, deliberately, to bruſh from his ſkin a flea, or a muſquito, that was inflicting ſharp pain upon him, and robbing him of his blood? I do not remember ever to have ſeen, or heard of a perſon whoſe humanity led him to ſpare the life of a poor flea, although he is a very innocent little fellow, when compared to the ſanguinary muſquito: but it has occurred to me to ſee a gentleman, from a pure regard to the life of all created beings, tenderly and carefully put away a muſquito that was bleeding him by the noſe. He is a man whoſe general conduct is guided

by the most exemplary humanity, and whose talents command universal respect. He considers the little animal as only following the dictates of instinct, in procuring his food; and feels that he ought not to deal his vengeance against nature;—or to take away the life he could not give. "Excellent philosophy," methinks I hear you exclaim!—He may have brilliant talents, and vast acuteness of mind; but he has no sensibility . . . . of nose!

From the house we now occupy, at La Bourgade, a fine avenue of fruit trees leads down the whole depth of the estate, back to the wild forest; or what is here termed "*the Bush*," from which the plantation is separated only by a wet ditch and a bank. Rambling this afternoon in a solitary and pensive promenade, amongst the oranges and other fruit trees, protected from the musquitoes, by thick gloves and pantaloons, I, suddenly, found myself arrested, at the distance of a mile and a half from the house, by the deep woods which, in heavy gloom, oppose an impenetrable barrier to the estate. My sauntering walk being thus interrupted I became fixed in contemplation, and, with my eye resting upon the forest,

my mind dwelt on the ſolemnity of the ſcene, until I fell into a ſort of contemplative reverie. The ſtate of man on our globe; his ſurpriſing powers in changing its ſurface; the immenſity he had done; the extent of his influence; the great proportion of the earth yet unknown to him; the ſtates of freedom and ſlavery; the wide difference between man living in the woods, and in poliſhed ſociety; the various ſtages of ſavage, and civilized life; all paſſed in mental review before me. The varied appearance of different parts of the globe; the diverſity of climate; the extent of theſe wild woods; their removal by the all-ſubduing arm of man; their remaining for ever unexplored, and the undiſturbed retreat afforded to their wild inhabitants; all paſſed and repaſſed as ſubjects of my contemplation. Monkies, ſavages, tigers, ſerpents, and all the infinite variety of animals poſſeſſing the woods traverſed my thoughts. The grand purpoſe of life and being; the utility of man; wherefore placed on the globe; and the whole hoſt of ſuch-like ſuggeſtions, multiplied by tenfold difficulties, preſented themſelves to my imagination. External objects ceaſed to impreſs my ſenſes, and, becoming abſorbed in the

great queſtion of creation, I felt humbled at the idea that, in the wide ſcale of worlds, even man might be of little more importance than the minuteſt inſect—perhaps not more than the very flea or muſquito whoſe only purpoſe in creation ſeemed to be that of . . . . tormenting him! Purſuing its wanderings my mind ranged into the infinity of ſpace, and there roved amidſt the ſtars, until the very globe itſelf became as inſignificant as the ſmalleſt ant that moves on its ſurface. Next occurred the infinite wiſdom of the great Creator—I ſaw every thing perfect, and happily ordained, glanced at the inſcrutable ways of Providence, and was loſt in profound awe and reverence, when I was ſuddenly rouſed from my reverie, by the loud ſcreaming of monkies, and the aſtounding ſhrieks of a large flock of parrots.—It inſtantly ſtruck my recollection that there were other, and more dangerous animals in the woods, and with the full ſtrength of the impreſſion, as in the moment of waking from a dream, I felt that beſides monkies and parrots theſe woods gave habitation to tigers and ſavages, and, worſe than ſavages—to Buſh-Negroes, to whom the ſcalp of a *backra* man would be an object of

gratification. You will believe that the soliloquy I had fallen into was quickly at an end. Sensible of the peril of my situation, I took up a rough staff for protection, and turning from the dark forest, and its savage inhabitants, hastily trod back my path into cultivated fields, and civilized society.

As I am to note to you all occurrences, and particularly such as are in any degree novel or interesting, I must not omit the following,—although it may seem to border upon the incredible. It is, nevertheless, a fact that a few days ago I was applied to by the wife of a colonist to request that I would *make some complaint* against the slaves of the house, to her husband, very *humanely* urging as a reason for imposing upon me so *grateful* a task, that she wished "*to get them a good flogging!*" I trust that neither you, nor any of our fair friends, on the temperate side of the Atlantic, will condemn my want of gallantry in resisting the solicitation. Perhaps, in the brightest days of chivalry, the most adulatory knight had not been obsequious enough to have devoted to gallantry, at such an expence of humanity. It was not even con-

tended that any ſpecific fault had been committed to juſtify the puniſhment, but this was *to be invented*, and merely becauſe ſome idle whim—ſome fit of caprice, or ill humor had led the miſtreſs of theſe poor ſlaves to wiſh them "*a good flogging!*"

LETTER XV.

Bush Negroes in the woods of Guiana. Fate of Dutch soldiers sent into the forest against them. Corps of slaves accompanied by a party of Indians subdue them. Punishment of a Bush Negro, named Amsterdam.

Demarara, May 16.

In my last letter I mentioned that in the woods of these colonies there are bodies of men called "Bush Negroes." These are mostly run-away slaves who have revolted from their masters, and having collected together in the forest, have there formed themselves into bodies, under certain captains or leaders; and have established various habitations and encampments in the thickest parts of what is termed "the Bush;" where they now live in all the worst habits of savage nature; and are become mere hordes of brigands or marauders.

They are negroes of the worst description, cruel, blood-thirsty and revengeful: men, whose crimes in European, and all

well ordered ſtates, would have been puniſhed with death. Many have murdered white inhabitants, maſſacred their maſters, or revolted in combination, plotting the deſtruction of the planters, in order to take the colony into their own poſſeſſion; but being fruſtrated in their deſigns, have ſaved themſelves from puniſhment, by flying into the hidden receſſes of the foreſt; from whence they iſſue only to ravage and plunder.

They had ſubjected themſelves to a ſort of regular diſcipline under their captains and lieutenants, and the lower orders of them (for there are diſtinctions even among run-away ſlaves) were compelled to toil in the night, by going out of the woods, in plundering parties, to ſteal plantains and other proviſions from the eſtates; but the labour to which they were expoſed, by this night-duty, was ſo much more ſevere than that required of them, in their common duty, as ſlaves upon the plantations, that ſome of them have been known to deſert back from the woods, and return to a ſtate of ſlavery, after having run away from their maſters to live in idleneſs, as they had expected, with their brethren in "the Buſh."

I wiſh I could repeat to you, as eloquently as I heard it related, the very intereſting detail of an expedition ſent into the woods againſt theſe Buſh negroes, laſt year, under the command of major M'Grah, and captain Dougan. Many perſons had been robbed, and had their property otherwiſe injured by their predatory excurſions;—indeed the whole colony was diſturbed, and, from the increaſing number of theſe ſanguinary hordes, was threatened with eventual deſtruction. It was therefore reſolved that a body of troops ſhould be ſent into the woods to ſearch for their places of reſort, and to endeavour to ſubdue or exterminate them. A party of the Dutch ſoldiers of the garriſon was, accordingly, equipped for this duty; and marched in due military order into the foreſt.

But this was not the ſpecies of force calculated for ſuch an expedition: and from not having obſerved all the minute precautions required, in this new and hazardous kind of warfare, they were ſurprized and defeated by the negroes; and very few of the ſoldiers eſcaped with their lives—moſt of them being killed, and their ſcalps, or bodies, fixed againſt

the trees, to ſerve as an example of what others had to expect who ſhould venture on a ſimilar expedition *.

The government and the coloniſts having diſcovered, from this fatal experience, that the Buſh negroes were more formidable than had been expected; and finding that regular European troops were not the beſt fitted for this kind of ſervice, raiſed a corps of negroes from among the moſt faithful of the ſlaves; and alſo engaged in their intereſt a party of Indians from the woods, who, happily for the planters, hold the Buſh negroes in great abhorrence.

Well provided and equipped, this ſecond expedition, commanded as above-mentioned, ſeparated into two parties, and boldly advanced into the wood to form a combined attack. Upon their march they paſſed the dead bodies of the Dutch ſoldiers tied to the trees at the ſides of a narrow path. Not deterred by this

* Upon this occaſion one of the officers was carried out of the wood by a faithful ſlave, who, afterwards, refuſed to accept his freedom as a reward; and only begged to have a ſilver medal to wear on days of feſtival.

horrid example, they proceeded onward, having the ſagacious Indians on their flanks; by whoſe acuteneſs and penetration they diſcovered the various ſituations, where the different companies of the Brigands had taken up their reſidence, and, by well concerted attacks, defeated and routed them whereſoever they met them. As an encouragement to the able and new raiſed troops, a premium was offered for every right hand of a Buſh negro that ſhould be brought in; and when they returned from the expedition, they appeared with ſeventy black arms diſplayed upon the points of their bayonets, cauſing a very ſingular and ſhocking ſpectacle to the beholders. Three hundred guilders each had been fixed as the price, but it was found neceſſary to reduce the premium, leſt the ſlaves ſhould kill their priſoners, or even deſtroy each other to obtain it.

The exertion and fatigue required in ſuch an expedition cannot well be conceived by thoſe who are accuſtomed only to regular and ſyſtematic warfare: nor is it probable that ſuch a ſervice could have been ſupported in this climate by European ſoldiers. In addi-

tion to all the difficulties of making their way through the unknown and almoſt impenetrable woods, they knew not where to find the enemy's poſts; and were, at every minute, liable to be fallen upon by ſurprize.

At firſt entering the Buſh, the march was continued to a great diſtance, nearly knee-deep in water; and when further advanced, the troops had to ſcramble through the thickets; or follow each other by a confined path in Indian file; and, after the haraſſing march of the day, to lie down at night, on the bare ground, under the trees—the officers ſuſpending their hammocks from bough to bough in the open air. They had, moreover to carry the whole of their proviſions, arms, ammunition, and every other neceſſary required for the ſucceſs of the expedition, upon their backs.

But for the aſſiſtance given by the Indians, the brigands had probably never been ſubdued; perhaps not found! The expertneſs of theſe men, in ſuch a purſuit, is peculiar, and beyond all that could be imagined, by thoſe who live in crowded ſociety. They not only

hear ſounds in the woods, which are imperceptible to others, but judge, with ſurpriſing accuracy, of the diſtance and direction from whence they proceed. The poſition of a fallen leaf, or the bending of a bramble, too ſlight to be noticed by an European eye, conveys to them certain intelligence reſpecting the route taken by thoſe whom they purſue. From conſtant practice and obſervation, their organs of ſenſe become highly improved, and they hear with an acuteneſs, and ſee with a preciſion truly ſurpriſing to thoſe who are unacquainted with their habits, and their vigilance. With ſuch guides, the expedition moved in confidence, and was conducted in ſafety. Seven encampments of the brigands were diſcovered and completely routed ; ſome of which had exiſted during fifteen years, concealed in the profoundeſt gloom of the foreſt.

The following was the mode uſually obſerved in eſtabliſhing theſe places of reſidence and reſort. Having fixed upon the ſpot moſt convenient for their purpoſe, a circular piece of ground was cleared of its wood, and, in the centre of this, they built huts, and formed the encampment, planting round about the build-

ings, oranges, bananas, plantains, yams, eddoes, and other kinds of provifions; thus, in addition to the trees of the foreft, procuring themfelves further concealment by the plantations which gave them food. The eddoes were found in great plenty, and had feemed to conftitute their principal diet. Round the exterior of the circular fpot was cut a deep and wide ditch, which, being filled with water, and ftuck, at the fides and bottom, with fharp pointed ftakes, ferved as a formidable barrier of defence. The path acrofs this ditch was placed two or three feet below the furface, and wholly concealed from the eye by the water being always thick and muddy. Leaves were ftrewed, and fteppings, fimilar in their kind, made to the edges of the ditch, at various parts, as a precaution, to deceive any who might approach, refpecting the real fituation of the path. But the proper place of croffing was found out by the acutenefs of the Indians, who foon difcovered that to attempt to pafs at any other part, was to be empaled alive.

It was found that the Brigands had eight of thefe encampments, or points of rendezvous in the woods, one of which is fuppofed ftill

to remain undiſcovered. After much fatigue in endeavoring to find it, the ſearch was relinquiſhed, in the idea that ſome of the priſoners, either by indulgence or torture, would be induced to make it known: but this expectation has only led to diſappointment. All the means uſed have failed, and the priſoners, faithful to their cauſe, have ſuffered torture and death without betraying their foreſt-aſſociates.

The cruel ſeverities inflicted upon theſe miſerable blacks have been ſuch as you will ſcarcely believe could have been ſuggeſted or practiſed by any well-ordered government: for, however ſtrongly puniſhment was merited, the refinement of torture with which it was executed ought never to have been tolerated in any ſtate profeſſing to be civilized. Humanity ſhudders at the bare recital of it.

Moſt of the ring-leaders were taken, and brought to Stabroek, where they were afterwards tried and executed, the majority of them ſuffering with a degree of fortitude and heroiſm worthy a better cauſe. One in particular, named Amſterdam, ſupported the ex-

treme of punishment with a firmness truly astonishing. He was subjected to the most shocking torture, in order to compel him to give information regarding the remaining encampment—but in vain! He despised the severest suffering, and nothing could induce him to betray his late companions, or to make known their yet undiscovered retreat.

He was sentenced to be burnt alive, first having the flesh torn from his limbs with red-hot pincers; and in order to render his punishment still more terrible, he was compelled to sit by, and see thirteen others broken and hung; and then, in being conducted to execution, was made to walk over the thirteen dead bodies of his comrades. Being fastened to an iron-stake, surrounded with the consuming pile, which was about to be illumined, he regarded the by-standers with all the complacency of heroic fortitude, and exhibiting the most unyielding courage, resolved that all the torture ingenuity or cruelty might invent should not extort from him a single groan; nor a syllable that could in any way impeach his friends.

With the firſt pair of pincers, the executioner tore the fleſh from one of his arms. The ſudden infliction of pain cauſed him to recede, in a ſlight degree, from the irons; and he drew in his breath, as if to form it into a ſigh, but he inſtantly recovered himſelf—his countenance upbraided him, and he manifeſtly took ſhame for having betrayed even the ſlighteſt ſenſe of ſuffering—then, reſuming more, if poſſible, than his former compoſure, he patiently waited the approach of the next irons, and, on theſe being brought towards him, he ſtedfaſtly caſt his eye upon them, inclined a little forward, and with an unſhaken firmneſs of countenance, deliberately met their burning graſp! From that moment he ſhewed himſelf capable of deſpiſing the ſevereſt pain. Not a feature was afterwards diſturbed, and he preſerved a degree of compoſure implying abſolute contempt of torture and of death.

Finally, when the deſtructive pile was ſet in flames, his body ſpun round the iron ſtake, with the mouth open, until his head fell back, and life was extinguiſhed. I am told, by a gentleman who had the melancholy taſk to attend the execution, that the moſt

horrid ſtench continued, for many hours, to iſſue from the roaſting body, and was extremely offenſive throughout the town, penetrating ſo ſtrongly into the houſes to leeward, as to make many perſons ſick, and prevent them from taking food during the remainder of the day.

The conduct of this negro furniſhes a ſtriking example of the powers of the human mind in ſubduing our bodily ſufferings, and might ſeem, even, to corroborate the doctrine which maintains that all pain is ideal.

Another of the chiefs, or captains, who was taken, is ſtill in confinement at the fort, under ſentence of death. His execution has been delayed in the hope of learning, from him, the ſituation of the yet remaining encampment; but, hitherto, to no purpoſe; and from his preſent conduct, it may be expected that he will die as relentleſs and inflexible as his comrade Amſterdam.

LETTER XVI.

Description of house and furniture occupied by the medical staff at La Bourgade. Entertainment given to some gentlemen of the navy. Provision-excursions. Arrangements concerning prize-money. Benefit and importance of musquito curtains. Stability of temperature, and of the breeze in Guiana. Singular application made to the author for an appointment in the medical department.

La Bourgade, May 21.

I HAVE before informed you that the barrack allotted to the medical officers is a very commodious house, situated near to the hospital; but I gave you no account of the furniture; nor did I describe to you what we here esteem a comfortable dwelling. Let me, therefore, tell you that our mansion is built wholly of wood, and is of the simplest construction. Being set upon low pillars, it is so raised from the ground as to leave sufficient space for dogs and small pigs to pass under it. Chimnies and fire places are not required. The windows are naked holes in the wooden sides, and are neither closed with plate glass, nor

well-fitted sashes, but hung with heavy shutters on the outside, to protect us in time of rain. No fine stucco plasters the walls, nor are the rooms hung with rich paper or tapestry. No painted cloth, nor soft carpet spreads the floor, nor do any rich cornices, or figured plasterings decorate the cieling. Above, below, and at the sides, all is plain wood: the walls, the cielings, and the floors are alike of naked boards; many of them so joined together as to allow free admission to air and light. Sitting in the parlour, we see through the openings into the bed-room above; and to the pigs routing below. The roof is also of wood, and open to the bed-chambers, which are hung only with the well-spun tapestry .... of industrious spiders. An old bench, or form, with three or four chairs of rough wood, and a coarse deal board, laid upon a pair of cross legs by way of table, complete the furniture.

Thus accommodated, you will be amused to hear that, we have had company to visit us at our dinner table. Ladies! did you ask? No, not ladies! but a party from one of his majesty's ships of war, who were led, by curiosity, to see how the "soldier-officers," (as

they term the gentlemen of the army) were accommodated on ſhore. They did not expreſs themſelves violently envious of our comforts; but were much diverted in forming conjectures what might have been the remarks of ſome of our friends in luxurious London, could they have glanced an eye upon our humble banquet, and the general order of our *manege.* A piece of hard ſalt beef graced one end of the table, a heavy lump of ſalt pork the other, and ſalt-meat ſoup ſupplied the place of the rich *plateau* in the middle. Such is our daily repaſt, and ſuch was our feaſt; for we gave to our viſitors the moſt ſumptuous fare of the larder. Freſh animal proviſions are dainties we can very ſeldom procure, and indeed, were it not for the daily allowance dealt out to us by government, we ſhould be confined to a diet of yams and plantains, like the ſlaves. During the paſſage from England, and while we were lying at Barbadoes, we diſregarded our ſalt allowance, nor did we, till now, comprehend the high value of a government ration; but it is here become of the greateſt importance, and forms, to us, as well as to the ſoldiers, the principal ſupply.

We often dispatch negroes to the distant plantations upon the coast, or the borders of the river, in search of fowls, ducks, roasting pigs, or any other fresh provisions; but they so commonly return empty handed, that we have been led to suspect them of idleness or neglect, and have been induced to make the experiment ourselves, by going in a boat to different estates up the river, with a view of purchasing poultry or other stock. But we have been equally unsuccessful; sometimes failing altogether, and at others procuring only a single chicken, or a roasting pig to serve a mess of six persons for the week. It happened one week that we met with a whole litter of young roasters to the number of six, when we thought ourselves in high good fortune; but as we had no convenient means of keeping them fat or in condition, we were unable to economize the use of them, and from eating pig, pig, pig, every day till they were all consumed, together with the accident of our black and stupid cook, occasionally leaving a little savoury stuffing within, we were not only in danger of growing into porkers ourselves, but became so entirely satiated with pig as to make it extremely doubt-

ful whether we ſhall ever be able to eat it again.

Beef, veal, and mutton are luxuries beyond our reach. This colony does not ſupply them in ſufficient quantity for its ordinary conſumption: we do not therefore expect them, except by way of an occaſional feaſt. The great additional demand for freſh proviſions, ſince our arrival, has likewiſe taken off all the ſurplus of ſmaller ſtock, and left ſcarcely a ſpare duck or a chicken in the colony.

In one of our proviſion-hunting excurſions to the weſtern coaſt, we had the good fortune to fall in with Captain Dougan, whom we found reſiding there, in command of the remnant of the black corps, which was raiſed laſt year for the expedition againſt the Buſh negroes. From this gentleman we experienced every mark of polite and hoſpitable attention. In our converſation we diſcovered that he was the ſon of the gentleman I had ſeen at "Profit;" and, on his learning that I had viſited his father, we were at once old acquaintances. But this was not required to call forth the captain's hoſpitality, for he

had previoufly infifted upon our dining, and paffing the remainder of the day with him; and he gave us an excellent dinner, and plenty of good wines, with the moft cordial welcome. Caffada cake and roafted plantains were ferved inftead of bread, and with our fowls we had a fauce prepared from the caffada juice, which lofes its poifonous quality by boiling and evaporation, and becomes fomewhat like the effence ufed under the name of foy.

On taking our leave, in the evening, we received many polite and liberal invitations to repeat our vifit; had our boat loaded with fruit, and were defired to fend for a further fupply whenever it might be acceptable. The eftate was rich in oranges and plantains, beyond all we had vifited; and fo univerfally were the fields interfected with rows of fruit trees, that whichever path we purfued, the eye looked down a fine avenue loaded, and yellow with fruit.

Let me announce to you that I have lately been called upon to give in a return of the officers of the hofpital-ftaff entitled to

prize-money, in order to enable the agents to make the neceſſary arrangement for the diſtribution of the property. This would ſeem to augur favorably: at all events it is ſatisfactory to have our claim eſtabliſhed, and to ſee things placed in an equitable train; but we are not ſo ſanguine as to expect our ſhares thus ſoon, ſhould we be fortunate enough to receive them at all *.

You will be pleaſed to hear that although we are ſtill ſadly annoyed with muſquitoes during the day and the evening, our nights are paſſed, at our new home, in all of reſt and comfort. In Carliſle bay, and at Stabroek, notwithſtanding that I ſlept with the door and windows open, I always felt heated and reſtleſs in bed; and, too commonly, roſe with a painful and ſpotted ſkin in the morning. At La Bourgade I am free from theſe inconveniences, and it were difficult to imagine the great and genuine comfort I derive from paſſing my nights in reſt and compoſure. I lie upon a hard mattreſs, without any bedding under it,

* It has been already remarked, that not the ſmalleſt diviſion of this prize-money has yet been ſhared by the captors.

covered only with a thin cotton ſheet, and protected by my friendly and moſt valued muſquito curtain. Even with the door and windows ſhut, I can reſt without feeling my-ſelf unpleaſantly heated; and, ſurrounded with my netting, I quietly regard the hoſt of muſquitoes and other inſects buzzing about me, without the fear of their diſturbing my repoſe.

Lying thus in coolneſs and ſecurity, after the diſturbed and unpleaſant nights of late weeks, I do verily enjoy my bed as a great luxury. Inſtead of riſing wearied by reſtleſs-neſs, and exhauſted by exceſs of heat, I now quit my pillow, in the morning, refreſhed, and recruited for the buſy round of the day.

From the ſituation of theſe colonies with reſpect to the ſun and the ocean, and from the territory being a continued flat, we are ſcarcely ever without a free and ſteady breeze, which creates an equable temperature, and renders the climate peculiarly uniform. At ſix in the morning the thermometer is uſually between 74 and 77 degrees, and at noon it has ſeldom varied more than from 81 to 84 degrees. It

being now the wet ſeaſon, much rain commonly falls during the night; and, frequently very heavy ſhowers in the courſe of the day; ſuch as quickly find their way through all the garments of thoſe who happen to be expoſed to them, for the heavieſt thunder ſtorms of England are ſcarcely ſufficient to give you an idea of their force and rapidity.

As I am to commune with you upon all ſubjects, and all occurrences, I may tell you that a few days ago I received a very ſingular and unexpected viſit from a dirty-looking, ill-dreſſed man, who was an entire ſtranger to me; and who, ſtalking abruptly into the room, addreſſed himſelf to me, ſaying, without any preliminary ſalutation, "I am juſt called to ſee you," then aſked if "the ſlaves ſtill remained upon the eſtate;" and, following up his queſtions, without waiting for any reply, went on to a train of interrogatories, deſiring to know "if the army wanted a doctor"—very *liberally* tendering his ſervices, provided he "could obtain a *good appointment*."—Had his abilities been conſummate as his aſſurance, he might have been a valuable acquiſition to us; but, as appearances did not exactly be-

ſpeak this, I had only to bow, in humble re-gret that we had no appointment adequate to his merits, and to lament that we could not avail ourſelves of the diſtinguiſhed honor he had intended the department.

LETTER XVII.

Author's duties lead him to the colony of Berbische. Establishes a comparative inquiry respecting the diseased appearances after different disorders, with a view to ascertain what are the changes produced by yellow fever. The more robust most liable to be destroyed by the fever of the climate. An example in the superintending cook at the hospital. Execution of a Bush Negro. Public punishment of a party of blacks. Unjust punishment of a Negro Carpenter.

Demarara, May 25.

THE hospital at La Bourgade being now established, and placed under proper regulations for the accommodation of the sick, I shall proceed, without delay, to the settlement of Berbische in order to make the necessary hospital arrangements for that colony.

It grieves me very sincerely to be able to tell you, that we are likely to have an ample opportunity of prosecuting our inquiries respecting the state of the viscera after yellow fever: but in order that we may not be deceived by appearances, we purpose, likewise, to examine the bodies of those who may be de-

ſtroyed by other maladies, whereby we ſhall be enabled to judge more accurately what are the real changes induced by that diſeaſe.

To offer you any details upon this ſubject would not only be premature, but foreign to my preſent purpoſe. Suffice it therefore to know that we ſhall avail ourſelves of the occaſions which may occur, and that in number they promiſe infinitely to exceed our wiſhes. Among the late ſufferers we have had the miſfortune to loſe our ſuperintending cook, at the hoſpital. He was a man of peculiar ſtrength, voice, and appetite. The ſick on board-ſhip uſed to complain that he ate up almoſt the whole of their food : when he ſpake, his voice was as the roaring of thunder ; and in point of muſcular ſtrength, he was quite Herculean. The attack was ſevere, and he quickly fell a ſacrifice, experiencing all the inveterate ſymptoms of the fever, with the exception only, of the yellowneſs of the ſkin,—that uncertain mark from which the name of the diſeaſe has been, erroneouſly, taken. The diſorder was early marked with uncommon reſtleſsneſs and anxiety, an indeſcribable ſenſation at the region of the ſtomach, and an almoſt inceſſant vomit-

ing of a black fluid refembling the grounds of coffee.

Among the diftrefsful fcenes it has lately been my lot to witnefs, I may tell you, that a few mornings ago, I chanced to be at Stabroek at the time of the execution of the captain of the Bufh Negroes whom I mentioned to you in a former letter. He died faithful to his caufe, and no information could be obtained from him regarding the encampment ftill remaining in the woods. He was fentenced to be fufpended by the neck for a fhort time, and then taken down, while yet alive, to have his head fevered from his body. The executioner was a negro, who, without any feelings of compunction, or of forrow for his countryman, exulted in the adroitnefs with which he took off the head at a fingle blow.

After the execution I fat a fhort time with the officers, at the barrack of the 99th regiment; when another painful fcene was exhibited to our obfervation, in the flogging of a party of negroes, before the fifcal's door, upon the public ftreet.

Upon one of them being releafcd from the ftakes, to which he had been tied down, with his face to the earth, during his punifhment, I thought that I recognized his features, and on going out to afcertain the fact, I difcovered him to be one of the carpenters, who had been fet apart to work, under my directions, at the hofpital. It happened, too, that he had diftinguifhed himfelf by his induftry, and was the man with whom I had moft converfed, on account of his fpeaking Englifh, and being able to explain my inftructions to his fellow-workmen.

You will believe that I felt an intereft regarding him, and that I was anxious to learn by what offence he had brought upon himfelf the fevere punifhment we had witneffed. To this end, in company with Major Say and other officers, I followed the poor bleeding man to his home, where we learned that the alleged crime for which he had been punifhed was——ftriking a white man; although in fact it appeared to have been a refufal to get up from his bed, at 9 o'clock at night, to work for a white inhabitant of the town, after labouring at the hofpital during the whole of the day.

It was further hinted by thoſe about him, that ſomething of pique or prejudice, on account of the poor man expreſſing himſelf pleaſed with his employment at the Britiſh hoſpital, might poſſibly have operated in deafening the ear of juſtice againſt him.

Theſe circumſtances gave additional intereſt to his caſe, and we felt ourſelves called upon, no leſs by humanity, than inclination, to aſcertain the truth of it ; and if the poor man had been unjuſtly puniſhed, to endeavor to bring the authors of it to ſhame.

A Dutchman who happened to be preſent at the time we were making inquiries, in the carpenter's ſhop to which the negro belonged, told us, with an air of confidence, that he had been puniſhed for ſtriking *him*, and cutting his elbow with a *large chiſſel ;* ſhewing us the very chiſſel with which the wound had been made, and the preciſe ſpot whereon it had happened, at the ſame time exhibiting his arm ſupported in a ſling. All this being ſo circumſtantially ſtated, four of us, Major Say, the ſurgeon of the 99th., another officer and myſelf, begged to ſee this frightful wound which had

been cut in the elbow: ſome objections were offered on the ground of diſturbing the dreſſings, unſewing the bandages and the like: but as Mr. Blackader promiſed to replace all theſe in fit order, we perſiſted in the requeſt; and the Dutchman finding that we were urgent, and rather inclined to be peremptory, at length ſubmitted: but the coat was ſaid to fit inconveniently tight; the ſhirt ſleeve to be tied in a hard knot, and other little difficulties and delays were thrown in the way. Still we determined to ſubdue them all; and when, at laſt, we ſucceeded, lo! inſtead of the many bandages, and complex dreſſings we had been taught to expect, we could neither find a plaſter, nor the wound. Inſtead of a deep cut from a chiſſel, a ſlight bruiſe only appeared upon the elbow, the ſkin being neither cut, nor broken. This ſeemed to ſtrengthen our ſuſpicions that the poor ſlave had been unfairly treated; and by proſecuting the inquiry we learned the following hiſtory.

The Dutchman had gone to the carpenter's ſhop in the evening in ſearch of a carpenter to do ſome work at a houſe in the town; and finding this negro ſleeping in the room

over the workſhop, inſiſted upon his getting up to go with him. The poor fellow pleaded that it was night, that he had toiled through the whole of the day, and further that he was ordered by the commandant to work only at the hoſpital until that was completed. The Dutchman, neverthelefs, inſiſted upon his going. The ſlave unhappily refuſed. Words enſued; and the white man, ſeizing the black by the hair of his head, dragged him down into the workſhop; where, in the ſcuffle, the Dutchman happened to receive a bruiſe of the elbow.

The following morning a complaint was made to a public officer, high in power, ſtating that the negro had ſtruck the Dutchman, and wounded him; and it being an offence utterly unpardonable for a black man, under any circumſtances, to lift his hand againſt a white one, the poor ſlave, without further inquiry, was ſentenced to receive the puniſhment we had witneſſed.

We could not feel ſatisfied that the proceedings had been conducted with a due regard to juſtice, and therefore we waited upon the

person who had decreed the punishment, to inquire further into the merits of it; and were told by him, that the negro had been punished "for striking a white man, with a *heavy stick*, and a *large nail* in it, and therewith cutting a deep wound in his elbow." As this account differed from that of the Dutchman himself, we asked this man of power, if the sentence had been pronounced barely upon the man's own report. Certainly not, he replied; the deposition was further sanctioned by the testimony of four respectable witnesses who appeared in evidence, having seen the negro strike the white man with the great stick with a great nail in it.

We then used the freedom of asking if he had taken the trouble to look at this wounded elbow *himself*. He had, he said, "and a sad cut it was." Had we not been stricken dumb with the reply, we might have exclaimed, "Alas! unhappy blacks! what hope have ye of justice, if not only private, but also public punishments be thus awarded."

As soon as our surprise and indignation would permit, we informed this *man of justice*

that four of us had minutely examined this frightful cut of the elbow, and that, with all our eight eyes ſtrained as wide as they could ſtare, we had not even been able to diſcover the wound; adding, for his further information, that the Dutchman had, himſelf, aſſured us that it was cut with a large chiſſel: but that, in fact it had neither been cut with a chiſſel, nor with a nail in a ſtick, nor cut at all; being only a ſlight bruiſe which had probably happened in the ſtruggle, when the Dutchman was pulling about the negro by the hair of his head. We alſo ventured to add that the whole tale of this mighty wound was a ſcandalous impoſition, and the puniſhment which had been inflicted upon the negro a groſs injuſtice. We then appealed to this arbitrary guardian of the laws, very earneſtly demanding whether, in juſtice to the injured negro, to the public, and to himſelf, who had been thus deceived and impoſed upon, he would not feel it incumbent upon him to inſtitute an inquiry regarding the fact, and to have the cruel wretch, and his four perjured witneſſes, ſeverely puniſhed—but of courſe we made no remark upon his having ſeen the ſad cut in the elbow *with his own eyes!* Whe-

ther from feeling himſelf implicated, or from a reluctance ariſing from any other cauſe, this great officer of *juſtice* did not ſeem to be of accord with our ſentiments upon the ſubject; but endeavored to divert us from the queſtion by expatiating upon the high neceſſity of holding ſlaves in ſubjection, and the great danger and impolicy of overlooking, in any inſtance, the crime of their lifting the hand againſt a white man. We readily conceded to him that upon the preſent ſyſtem—it was ſtrongly neceſſary to be tenacious of the privileges aſſumed, but we could never agree that it was either juſt or wiſe, to puniſh a poor unprotected man upon the falſe accuſation of a ſet of perjured wretches, merely becauſe Nature had covered him with a black ſkin, and them with a white one; nor that it was fit not to expoſe ſuch wanton malice to public ſhame, whenever the falſehood and injuſtice of the teſtimony ſhould be detected; therefore, pledging ourſelves to appear in evidence, whenever called upon, we left the office obtaining a promiſe from this man of power, to inſtitute an inquiry, and to have juſtice done to the poor injured ſlave!

Whether our endeavors in his behalf may be crowned with ſucceſs, is extremely doubtful, but the unhappy hiſtory of our carpenter's puniſhment will convey to you ſome idéa of the kind of juſtice to be expected by ſlaves. The alleged offender is not heard in mitigation, nor are any of his colour admitted in evidence, although they might be able wholly to diſprove the charge; hence, whenever a white man is baſe enough to perjure himſelf in accuſation, the ſlave can have no hope of eſcaping from puniſhment.

LETTER XVIII.

Author embarks on board a Commiſſariat ſloop to proceed from Demarara to Berbiſche. Expects to complete the paſſage in a few hours, but is detained at ſea four days and nights, deprived of almoſt every neceſſary and every comfort. Deſcription of the Voltigeur and its accommodations. The cabin a wretched hole of filth and vermin. Its furniture. The library. Expedition of paſſengers in the boat. Various and tormenting delays. The captain enraged and intemperate. View at the opening of the Berbiſche river. Happy ſenſations on arriving at Fort William Frederic.

Berbiſche, May 31.

EXPECTING a paſſage of only a few hours to this colony, I left Demarara the day after writing to you my laſt letter, on board a ſmall veſſel which I had not ſeen previous to embarking for the voyage; and which offered no accommodation but that of being bound direct to the place of my deſtination. This, indeed, ſeemed to be all that was required, for I was aſſured both on ſhore, and when I arrived on board, that, in leſs than twenty-four hours, we ſhould be at Berbiſche. But,

confiftent with the uncertainties to which I am always doomed, whenever my perfon is entrufted to the fickle ocean, this fhort paffage, from a multitude of adverfe circumftances, was extended to a fadly tedious voyage; and, in many refpects, the moft comfortlefs and difagreeable I have known. Inftead of a few hours only, we were four long days at fea. A minute detail of the progrefs of each fucceffive day may, perhaps, be as tedious to you as the voyage has been to me: yet, to fay, merely, that we were four days making a paffage of only a few leagues, would convey to you no idea of the extreme difcomfort, and the various and multiplied annoyances to which I was expofed. Let me, therefore, give you the particulars in my own way, and, if it feemeth meet, you may take as many days to read the hiftory of the voyage as we did to make it; and then if you pleafe, you may commit it, as I would gladly have done the veffel in which it was written . . . . to the flames.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 26th inft., I embarked on board the above floop to proceed from Fort William Frederic,

at the mouth of the Demarara river, to Fort St. Andrew, at the entrance of the river Berbifche. The veffel was employed by the Commiffariat, to convey ftores and provifions to the garrifon. She was named Voltigeur, and if the term was meant to imply a rolling and tumbling veffel, in oppofition to every thing of fpeed or expedition, it, furely, could not have been more correctly applied, for never did an unwieldy cafk move more heavily on the water.

Quite unexpectedly I met with five other paffengers on board, to all of whom I was an entire ftranger. I thought myfelf fortunate in having procured three fmall chickens, and a falted pig's face, with fome fruit and vegetables, as my fhare of ftock for the voyage; and which, I was told by my friends on fhore, who had often made the paffage, was an ample fupply, it being probable that I fhould not have to remain more than a fingle day on board. The other gentlemen, having more confidence, than myfelf, in the wind, the fea, and the Voltigeur, had embarked without provifions or ftores of any kind.

The anchor was weighing when I arrived on board, I, therefore, had ſcarcely any opportunity of ſeeing my fellow paſſengers before we were under ſail; nor had I time to become at all acquainted with them ere I was compelled to retreat, and to hide myſelf from their ſociety; for, as uſual, my head became ſenſible of the ſea-motion before we had well eſcaped from the river, and my ſtomach ſympathiſing, violent ſickneſs ſeized me, and I was compelled to hurry to bed.

Till now I had taken no thought regarding either cabin or couch, the ſhortneſs of the voyage, and the warm and ſteady temperature of the climate had ſuperſeded all concern reſpecting a birth for the night—every accommodation being aſſured to me by ſitting upon deck, or lying down in the open air. The ills of noon, and the unaccommodating nature of the Voltigeur had no ſhare in my calculations. But I now diſcovered that no relief to the preſent ſufferings could be had upon deck. To ſit up was impoſſible, the violence of the reaching being altogether inſupportable, and, as the veſſel offered no protecting ſhade, to lie down upon the deck, expoſed to the full

power of a burning ſun, was to invite almoſt certain diſeaſe; and, further, as there were no quarter-boards, nor any other defence at the ſides of the ſloop, I muſt have been every moment in danger of being rolled overboard into the ſea.

Under theſe circumſtances I was driven to ſeek ſhelter in the cabin, ſuch as it might chance to be; and, to this end, I was conducted to a kind of trap door in the quarter-deck, called a hatch-way; and, the hatch being lifted off, a dark hole below was pointed out to me as the cabin, and the only place where I could recline my aching head, or hope relief for my ſickened ſtomach. Subdued by the depreſſing languor of nauſea, I was too ill to heſitate;—to lie down was my only care. A death-like ſickneſs impelled me on; and, unaſſiſted by ſtairs or ladder, I dropped myſelf, by means of my trembling arms, down the opening into this murky cell. My feet were quickly arreſted by the old cheſts, and other lumber ſcattered about this filthy place, which was not of ſufficient depth to admit of my ſtanding upright, without being half out at the hatch-way; neither was there room to ſit

down, nor a chair, nor ſtool to reſt upon—hence it only remained to me to crawl upon my hands and knees over the looſe cheſts and barrels to the fartheſt extent of the cabin, and there throw myſelf into a wooden birth fixed at the ſide; which I found too ſhort to admit of the full extenſion of my perſon, and too near the planks of the deck above, to allow of my remaining in any but an extended poſture.

Still the annihilating nauſea I ſuffered rendering me inſenſible to all other ills, I folded myſelf up, as well as the ſhortneſs and narrowneſs of my contracted birth would allow, and aſſuming, as nearly as I could, the horizontal poſition, ſought only to eſcape from the diſtreſſing ſickneſs that overpowered me: nor was it until this had ſomewhat abated that I diſcovered the horrors of the contracted dungeon into which I had crawled. Darkneſs and nauſea had concealed from me, not only the limited extent, but the many other ills of this wretched hole. At a moment when the all-concealing ſickneſs had a little ſubſided, a ſailor with a light in his hand, dropped through the opening by which I had deſcended. It

were impoſſible to deſcribe the ſenſations I experienced upon diſcovering the ſcene which now opened to me. The execrable neſt in which I was lying was not ſimply crowded and confined, beyond all that the annoyances I had felt had led me to ſuſpect, but it was a *tout enſemble* of naſtineſs, that defies all deſcription. Words can only convey to you, a faint idea of the dirty and abominable place, in which, for four long days, ſick and without food, I had to live.

This horrid cell, called a cabin, was only ſix feet long, ſeven wide, and four in depth; and was further contracted to leſs than half its dimenſion, by the looſe old cheſts, and worm-eaten coffers ſtanding on the deck below; the thick ſheets of cobwebs ſuſpended from the deck above; and the crowd of filthy ornaments hanging on all ſides. To ſit or to ſtand appeared impoſſible; ſcarcely, indeed, was there room to lie down, or to breathe. Not only was I ſhocked to ſee the noxious den I was in, but was puzzled to conjecture how I could have ſteered my paſſage to the birth, where I was lying. Both the entrance to the cabin, and the path I had travelled to

my couch were ſuch as I could only have paſſed during the inſenſibility of a ſevere fit of nauſea. Deſcending from the hatch-way above, I muſt have alighted upon a heap of unfixed trunks and coffers, at the riſk of my legs being jammed between them; then I had to crawl, upon my hands and knees, over the old unſteady lumber, breaking my way through filth-thickened cobwebs, at the hazard of being entangled in the ſtrong net-work of gigantic ſpiders, whoſe labours had known no interruption ſince the building of the ſhip; and who, by conſtant toil, had manufactured ſheets and cordage of almoſt ſufficient ſtrength to work it. But when compared to the many other offenſive things which filled the place, theſe arachnoide hangings might be regarded as the rich tapeſtry of the apartment.

I was really ſeized with terror on beholding the actual ſtate of this noiſome priſon-hole, for, conſidering its confined limits, and the multiplicity of foul and offenſive things that were crammed into it, it appeared quite miraculous that I ſhould have eſcaped the fate of our countrymen who were conſigned to the celebrated hole of Calcutta.

At each ſide of this dark abode was a fixed ſleeping birth which was narrow, ſhort, and dirty. The centre was filled with barrels, tubs, old ſea cheſts, greaſy coffers, and other lumber. At one end ſtood a tub of ſtinking ſalt meat; at the other, one with rotten potatoes, and pots of rancid butter. The cabin was the general receptacle—the ſtore-houſe, cellar, pantry, and larder of the ſhip. Under the births, ſaluting the noſes of thoſe lying in them, were filthy worm-eaten cheſts, filled with dirty long-worn apparel, and other high-eſſenced contents. One was ſet apart for unwaſhed knives and forks, dirty plates, baſons, and diſhes; another for the odorous remains of yeſterday's dinner. In one corner ſtood a bag of muſty biſcuit—in another hung an old greaſe-thickened lantern. Hand-ſpikes, marline-ſpikes, dirty ſwabs, a broken, mouldy caſe with a compaſs—an old worm-eaten ditto with a quadrant, two or three broken fiſhing lines, a battered old ſpeaking trumpet, and a variety of other implements, hung, or ſtrewed about, added to the furniture of the apartment.

But worſt of all were the poiſonous old

blankets of the ſleeping births; and the myriads of inſects and vermin crawling about, and making a public high-way of my body. Rats and mice, cockroaches, muſquitoes, fleas, and ants formed only a part of the catalogue.

You will believe that on diſcovering how I was placed, I loſt no time in attempting my eſcape from this wretched neſt. But, on riſing, a violent and enfeebling ſickneſs again ſeized me, and from the cauſes I have mentioned, it was impoſſible to remain upon deck; I therefore made the experiment of ſtanding in the hatchway, with my head through the opening, ſo as to catch the paſſing breeze; but the intenſe heat from the perpendicular rays of the ſun, and the death-like nauſea and inceſſant reaching produced by the erect poſition, ſoon chaſed me from this wholeſome ſtation, and left me only a choice of evils—either to extend myſelf upon deck expoſed to burning heat, at the riſk of being rolled overboard into the ſea; or, again, to throw myſelf into the deadly hole I had left. The former of theſe meaſures almoſt inſured diſeaſe—the latter threatened a poiſonous ſuffocation, and the danger of being devoured by vermin.

In this dilemma—unable to decide which might prove the leſſer evil, and almoſt ſinking from the languor produced by nauſea and vomiting, I, at length, reſolved to return to the manifold ills of the cabin; but continued at the hatch-way, ſupporting a degree of reaching, which almoſt inverted my ſtomach, while one of the ſailors removed the blankets, and other offenſive things, that were in the birth, and ſwept and ſcrubbed it out, in order to give me the bare boards as a reſting place.

I now drew on a pair of thick fuſtian pantaloons that reached down to my feet; buckled them faſt in my ſhoes; put on a pair of ſtrong gloves; covered my head and great part of my face, with my night-cap; and changing my coat for a looſe morning gown, rolled myſelf up ſo as to leave ſcarcely more than my noſe acceſſible; and, thus protected, tumbled again into the birth I had quitted, bidding defiance to the inſects, vermin, and every annoyance around me. Fortunately my ſenſes were not, at this moment, very acute, for I laboured under a ſevere catarrh which deprived me of the faculties of ſmelling, and taſting, and almoſt robbed me of ſight. By

ſickneſs and want of reſt, my ſenſe of feeling was alſo become torpid ; ſo that the ear was the only organ which retained its full power of receiving offenſive impreſſions. Situated as I was, all this might be conſidered as fortunate, for I was compelled to remain throughout the remainder of the day, either violently reaching, or ſickly viewing the wretched and diſguſting ſcene around me.

Before evening poor old Mr. Serjeant, one of my fellow paſſengers, was likewiſe ſeized with ſickneſs, and compelled to ſeek relief by reclining his head in the oppoſite birth of the cabin. I had now a companion in my affliction, but this brought no alleviation to my ſufferings.—I felt that this old gentleman, who poſſeſſed a large property and all the comforts of an opulent eſtate, might be leſs prepared than myſelf, to encounter the hardſhips and annoyances we were expoſed to ; and this idea, in no degree, contributed to my relief. In painful ſympathy we mutually bewailed each other's diſtreſs, looking with anxious hope to a leſs offenſive birth upon the open deck, when the ſun ſhould take his leave for the night.

But in this expectation we were grievously disappointed. The retreat of the sun was succeeded by heavy torrents of rain; and instead of our being able to return upon deck, all the other passengers were driven below, crowding both the cabin and hatch-way, so as to threaten us with the pains of suffocation. Every old chest and trunk now cracked with the weight of some one hastening down to escape from the rain; and, quickly, no less than seven or eight persons, were crowded into this contracted hole of spiders and vermin, committing depredations upon their net-work hangings, and tearing down the strong hammocks in which for years past, they had rested undisturbed. The whole host was thus put to flight. All the living things of the cabin seemed to be let loose in alarm. Numerous flocks of old spiders, overgrown cockroaches, rats, ants, and other travellers, ran distractedly about the births, kicking up their heels in our faces, and scampering, without ceremony, over every part of our persons.

Nor was this the worst of our troubles, for, on account of the rain, and from some of the creoles, who were stationed about the open-

ing, complaining of cold, we were expofed to the ftill greater annoyance—to the extreme peril of lying with the hatch-way clofed. But this I felt it totally impoffible to endure ; and therefore, loudly, and earneftly, entreated, that crowded and ftowed as we were, we might not, on any account, be fhut from the breeze. Poffibly it might have proved an effectual expedient for relieving us from the vermin, and infects ; but, from being apprehenfive of my own lungs, I was unwilling to hazard the experiment.

In a ftate truly deplorable did we pafs a long and wearifome night. I had taken no food ; naufea ftill oppreffed me ; my very bones ached ; my cold was fevere ; my eyes were fwoln from reaching, and from want of reft ; my head throbbed with pain ; the heat of the cabin was fuffocating ; and I was almoft expiring from want of air. With what anxiety did I wait the return of day ; and when grey morning ftole in at the hatch-way, how joyfully did I hail its happy dawn !

My mind's eye now faw the fort of Berbifche clofe a-head of the floop, and I contem-

plated a ſpeedy eſcape from all the perils and annoyances of the execrable Voltigeur. We had been under ſail during the whole of the night, and it was no unreaſonable flight of fancy to expect that we approached near to the end of the voyage. But the term of our ſufferings was not thus ſoon to cloſe. New vexations aroſe, and diſappointment again preſented its thorns. An old ſailor, who had been employed to take his watch at the helm, during the night, had devoted to all ſubduing Morpheus, and ſteered the veſſel a wrong courſe; from which accident we had now the mortification to find ourſelves more diſtant from Berbiſche, than we had been in the evening. This was a cruel blow to my happieſt expectations; and judging from the progreſs hitherto made, the warm hope of being ſoon on ſhore, was ſuperſeded by the fear of being detained another night on board.

One of the paſſengers, who, it proved, was the owner of the veſſel, obſerving my ſolicitude, offered me conſolation, by remarking that we were not far diſtant from an eſtate of his, upon the coaſt, and aſſuring me that if the veſſel ſhould not be able to reach Berbiſche in

the evening, rather than we ſhould ſuffer ſuch another night, he would take us all off in the boat to ſleep at his houſe on ſhore. This was, indeed, a real comfort to me, and I ſupported the ſickneſs and other ills of the day, in the full confidence of being, one way or other, relieved from them at night.

Our heavy ſloop proceeded in dull movement, making ſlow progreſs, and ſcarcely regaining, during the whole of the day, the diſtance ſhe had loſt in the night. Evening again approached and our Captain ſaw no proſpect of reaching Berbiſche. Finding this, the paſſengers upon deck kindly ſent a meſſage down into the cabin, informing me, that we were within ſight of the eſtate, at which we were to ſleep. This was happy news indeed! The proſpect of eſcaping from the deteſted Voltigeur, although but for a few hours, brought inſtant relief to my ſickened ſtomach! The afflicting nauſea vaniſhed, and, in high delight, I haſtened from my hard bed of ſickneſs to ſeek a ſweeter birth on ſhore.

But vexation and diſappointment were again our lot; and no alleviating remiſſion of

our ſufferings was allowed. It was diſcovered that we were too far diſtant from the ſhore to go off in the boat; and moreover that it was the ebb of tide, which rendered it impoſſible that we could traverſe the deep bank of mud, which extended from the water's edge to the land.

It was next debated whether it might anſwer our purpoſe to avail ourſelves of the return of the tide, and of our nearer approach to the ſhore, at a later hour: but, again, our hopes were defeated, by the unexpected decline of the breeze, which moſt provokingly placed us upon the water in a dead calm. Preſently the evening cloſed, and it growing ſuddenly dark, we were compelled to abandon the project, and to ſubmit to the torture of paſſing another night on board.

As my next reſource I reſolved to avoid the poiſonous ſtench and filth of the cabin, by pillowing my head upon the open deck until morning: but I found that my meaſure of vexation was not yet filled, for I was quickly chaſed from this well-aired couch, by the falling of heavy rain; and compelled to return to my neſt of

ſpiders. As the evil was without a remedy, I haſtened below, and, keeping on my clothes and ſhoes, tumbled in upon the bare boards I had left, cracking numbers of cockroaches, and other inſects in my fall; for the whole multitude of creeping things ſeemed to have met in congreſs in the birth, not expecting my return; and in the alarm of ſudden interruption ſome were cruſhed, while the others paced and ſcrambled their way over my perſon, even in greater droves than before.

The rain continued to fall, and from all the paſſengers again crowding into the cabin, we were cloſe-ſtowed in confined and offenſive heat, and paſſed another ſadly wretched night: which to me was more diſtreſſing than the former, on account of my cold being ſomewhat relieved, and my olfactory powers in a ſlight degree reſtored. How anxiouſly did I wiſh to place an additional feather in the wing of time—how pray, ere the night had well commenced, that morning would again appear!

The few hours abſence of light ſeemed quite an age; for, annoyed and reſtleſs as I was,

through the night, ſleep was a ſtranger to my eyes. Indeed had the ſoothing deity of repoſe invited me to his ſoft bowers, I ſhould have refuſed the offering, in the apprehenſion that if I ceaſed to keep watch, I might loſe a finger, either of the hand or the foot; or be eaten in holes by the herds of hungry vermin, that were ſeeking to make a prey of my body. Comfortleſs, wearied, and with aching bones, I gladly greeted the return of day, and without dwelling upon minor ills, felt it fortunate to have preſerved myſelf..... in a whole ſkin!

To prevent the accident of the preceding night, we had let go the anchor; and, without the riſk of ſteering away from our courſe, remained near the ſhore until the revolving ſun again broke from the waters of the eaſt to guide our path. It was now diſcovered that we had been lying near to the eſtate of our fellow paſſenger, where it was intended we ſhould have ſlept; and it alſo appeared that we were only a few hours run from Berbiſche; and that, unleſs ſome new prevention occurred, we could not fail to complete our voyage in the courſe of the day.

But, unhappily, the proprietor of the veſſel now deſired to be ſet on ſhore; and we could not weigh anchor until the ſailors, who went off with the boat ſhould return. At 7 o'clock Mr. —— took his departure from the veſſel, carrying with him the other paſſengers, and leaving me to make the remainder of the voyage alone.

I before obſerved that theſe gentlemen brought no proviſions on board; and as my ſcanty ſtock had only ſerved the meſs for a ſingle dinner, we had already been reduced to the negro diet of plantains and water for nearly two days. This had, hitherto, been no inconvenience to me, for my ſickened ſtomach refuſed equally every kind of nouriſhment; but my greateſt diſtreſs aroſe from the other paſſengers having devoured every morſel of my fruit, while I was lying ſick and ill below, not leaving me a ſhaddock, nor an orange, to moiſten my lips, or cool my tongue.

On their leaving the ſloop, I earneſtly entreated them not to detain the boat a moment after they landed, leſt we ſhould be prevented from reaching Berbiſche by night.

They in reply aſſured me that it ſhould not be delayed a minute beyond the time neceſſary for ſending us "ſome fruit, and ſome proviſions for the captain's dinner." But, incertitude was ſtill the maxim of the fickle element, and ſtern ocean remitted not his unſteady and deſpotic rule. Inſtead of the boat coming back, directly, we were kept waiting the whole of the day, under an anxiety which it were more eaſy to conceive, than expreſs.

The third night came on, and no boat appeared. Our ſituation was now tenfold more diſtreſſing than before. Without the men who went off with the boat, we had not hands enough to work the veſſel. No remedy, therefore, remained, but to wait for them, however delayed their return. The mortification of having to paſs another night in my offenve den, was ſadly aggravated by the vexation of lying at anchor, near to the place of deſtination, more than double the time that was required to complete the voyage; and if ever one day of twenty-four hours was longer than another it was ſurely this. Only one idea occupied the mind. The delayed return of the boat excluded every other contempla-

tion, and chaining our thoughts to a single link, the heavy languor of disappointed expectation lengthened a most wearisome day into more than a tedious week!

The poor captain, grown even more impatient than myself, became quite outrageous, and from no satisfactory cause explaining to his mind the detention of the boat, he sought not to restrain his rage, but kicked and stamped upon the deck, pouring forth dreadful sea oaths, in the full coarseness of broad Barbadoes dialect, and with all the emphasis of unbounded execration. His curses were really tremendous. They were unlike all that had before met my ear; and were rendered doubly odious by the drawling accent in which they were pronounced.

Notwithstanding my determination to meet the rough and the smooth of life as they shall chance to fall in my path, this I confess was a day of trial to my philosophy. Being without food and drink, without society, or any other *agrement*, I was not able to beguile the slothful hours, either by conversation or the pleasures of the table; and was even dis-

appointed in the hope of diverting my mind, from the fatigue of unremitted ſuſpenſe, by reading. Intending to make the trial, I begged of the ſtamping, raving captain to ſhew me his library—Aye, exclaimed he, with a broad oath, that I can ſoon do! And, in truth, ſo he might; for it conſiſted only of an old mouldy copy of the ſailor's *Vade mecum*, and the ſecond volume of *The Tattler*, worm-eaten, and held together by a needleful of worſted. As I was not in humour with the ſea, nor any thing appertaining thereto, I threw aſide the muſty old guide, and ſat down to tattle with Mr. Bickerſtaff, hoping in his ſociety to forget the cares of the moment; but ſtill the boat—the *boat* annoyed me at every page, and I found it impoſſible to abſtract my thoughts from the painful apprehenſion of paſſing another night on board the execrable Voltigeur. However, with ſometimes tattling, ſometimes thinking, and ſometimes looking out, I contrived to wear away the torpid hours; and, ſlow and dilatory as they had ſeemed, I found that the tedious day had too ſoon paſſed away; for the cheering god of light again ſunk into the weſtern waves,—and no boat had arrived!

The veſſel being at anchor, and near the ſhore, the motion was not conſiderable; and, conſequently, the violent ſickneſs and reaching, which had hitherto diſtreſſed me, were a little abated, and I remained, during the greater part of the day, upon deck; but as is common, at this ſeaſon of the year, heavy rain again fell at night, and I was driven below to paſs the hours of darkneſs amidſt the filth and perils of my former retreat. Defending myſelf, as before, againſt the enemies that beſieged me, I, very reluctantly, committed my perſon to their attack. My head ached ſeverely; I was enfeebled and languid from former reaching, and the want of food; and every circumſtance, around me, tended to rob me of reſt. But exhauſted nature ſought relief. My eye-lids hung heavy, and did occaſionally fall together; yet all repoſe was denied me, for no ſooner was I off my guard, than I was again rouſed by formidable troops marching acroſs my face and my perſon, and inflicting ſharp wounds in order to drink my blood.

The poor enraged captain, bidding defiance to the ſhowers, remained throughout

the greater part of the night ſwearing and ſtamping upon deck; and, in his watchful look-out for the boat, kept himſelf awake by pouring dread *Barbadian* curſes upon the heads of thoſe who detained it.

After a long and weariſome watching the eye of morning uncloſed, and day again broke in at the opening of the cabin. Much rain had fallen during the night, but the ſun ſmiled propitious through his morning robes, and ſeemed to offer cheerful greetings. With eager anxiety I ſought tidings of our boat, but could obtain no intelligence regarding her. Neither was ſhe arrived, nor in ſight. The whole round of a day and night had paſſed, ſince ſhe left us, and we were wholly loſt in conjecture what could poſſibly detain her.

I now began to feel alarmed for my fellow-paſſengers, and ſoon became more anxious concerning their ſafety, than regarding the return of the boat. Something ſurely muſt have happened. The tide and the mud appeared no longer ſufficient to explain the delay. Still had we no means of obtaining, nor even of ſeeking information, and it only re-

mained to us to continue the expectations of the preceding day, rendered far more anxious from our apprehensions respecting the fate of the gentlemen who had left us.

I had very early escaped from the cabin, and having exhausted all inquiries and conjectures, without discovering any possible remedy, it next became a question how to kill the heavy time. I had, already, travelled as far as *Finis* with Isaac Bickerstaff; and had nothing left in the shape of a book but the dirty worn-out Vade mecum: therefore, great as was my aversion to the sea, a seeming necessity drove me to separate the dirty pages of the old guide. A Dutch dictionary had been nearly as entertaining. I, nevertheless, laboured through latitudes and longitudes, and meridians, and altitudes, quite to the end; and still . . . . . no boat appeared!

I, next, resumed my tattling with Mr. Bickerstaff, pursuing our conversation of yesterday, until about noon, when, to the great joy of all on board, our long-lost boat hove in sight. Both tattler and guide were instantly forgotten, and, leaping up, I asked, impul-

ſively, if we had yet time to reach Berbiſche by night. The captain aſſured me that we had; and you will believe that we kept our eyes, ſtedfaſtly on the boat, wiſhing her tenfold ſpeed. At length, after an abſence of thirty-two moſt tedious hours, ſhe came ſafe alongſide; when we learned that no accident had occurred; but that owing to the immenſe beds of drifted mud on the coaſt, and to the tide making againſt them, when they firſt *neared* the ſhore, all the party had been kept at ſea in the open boat, expoſed to the full ardor of a vertical ſun, and without a morſel to eat, or a drop to drink, during the whole of the preceding day, from ſeven o'clock in the morning until ten at night: ſince which the boat had been kept on ſhore to give reſt and refreſhment to the poor ſailors, who were cruelly exhauſted with heat and fatigue.

Thus did it appear that there were ſituations even more diſtreſſing than being confined on board the odious Voltigeur; for thoſe who had gone off in the boat had been greater ſufferers than myſelf. But I was ſurprized to find that men, who had ſo recently known the ills of privation, did not experience ſome

feelings of ſympathy towards others. Although they knew that we were lying waiting in ſad ſuſpenſe, and without food or drink, except ſome ſtale plantains and bad water, notwithſtanding the boat remained on ſhore full twelve hours after they landed, they had not the liberality—the compaſſion, I might ſay, to ſend off either a bit, or a drop to the maſter of the veſſel, whom they had kept waiting; or to the perſon whoſe proviſions they had eaten.

We could not but feel hurt at this neglect: but we recollected that they landed at night, and in a ſtate of fatigue and diſcomfort but little calculated to extend their conſideration beyond their own perſons; and we hoped to feel it the leſs on account of ſpeedily reaching the haven whither we were bound: but, as if the torments of this vexatious voyage were never to end, when the boat reached us, it was diſcovered that the tide did not ſerve for us to get under-weigh; and, conſequently, we were obliged to ſpend two hours of more tedious waiting than all that had paſſed, before we could open our ſails to the wind. At length the boat, being hauled up aſtern, and

the tide ſerving, we again ſtood out to ſea; the captain aſſuring me that we ſtill had ſufficient time to reach Berbiſche by ſun-ſet. Knowing her talent for ſailing, I had ſtrong doubts of this; but did not deem it wiſe to diſcourage the commander by condemning his veſſel. The fact probably, would, too ſoon explain itſelf.

The wind was not in our favor, and on my firſt venturing to aſk how we came on, I learned that we were about half a league *further from port* than when we were lying at anchor. Still I was enough a ſailor to have this explained to my ſatiſfaction, by the obſervation that it was neceſſary to *ſtand well out*, in order to *fetch the river upon the next tack*. But very ſoon after, on attempting to *bring the veſſel about*, new perplexities aroſe. The Voltigeur diſobeyed the helm, and would not *veer to the wind*. In the ſailor's language, ſhe would neither *tack nor wear*, but remained fixed like a log upon the water. I ſtood equally fixed, obſerving all that paſſed, without hazarding a ſyllable of remark; for, however bad a veſſel may be, and however much her captain may abuſe her, himſelf, ſtill every

commander is so tenacious regarding the vessel under his direction, that it were treason for any other person to speak of her as a bad sailor.

The poor captain now stamped and swore worse than ever; and I had a full opportunity of hearing the whole catalogue of vulgar sea-oaths, delivered in the broadest Creole dialect. He cursed the vessel's eyes, her heart, and her sides—uttered dreadful oaths upon her head, her soul, and her liver, and after loading her with all the dreadful imprecations that vulgar rage could invent, he completed the climax, by exclaiming to the sailors "*d— her, cut her old throat, d—— her!*"

After much exertion, and a varied repetition of oaths, and enraged stampings upon the deck, the vessel was brought about, and we stood in for the shore, sailing for a short time in steady approach to the river; but within less than a short half-hour, the bright prospect, which had so recently opened to us, was again obscured, by the Voltigeur striking upon the mud, and being nearly fixed aground. Fortunately she *went about* on this tack, with

greater facility than the other, and hence, by putting her round, ſhe was ſoon ſet afloat again: but it was now neceſſary to ſtand away, and make a long reach, from the ſhore, in order to get into deep water. This would neceſſarily delay our arrival, yet ſtill the captain inſiſted that we ſhould reach Berbiſche at night. But upon my next inquiry reſpecting our progreſs I found that this was not very probable, for we were then ſix miles *further off* than when the boat came to us in the morning.

Soon afterwards all hands were ſummoned, and "*about*, *about*," re-echoed throughout the ſloop. But the vexatious Voltigeur again reſiſted. She had a ſad antipathy to the Berbiſche river, and on their attempting to tack for the ſhore, ſhe refuſed to turn her head that way. The poor captain, who had carefully ſtationed every man at his poſt, and prepared, with all due care, for putting her about, grew almoſt frantic. He ſtamped and raved, and ſwore with all the bitterneſs of unbridled wrath; and, having gone through all his volume of oaths, he threw himſelf down, exhauſted by his exertions and his fury, ex-

claiming—"*Dammee if we ſhall get in to-night, for ſhe'll neither wag one way nor t'other.*" For this I was not unprepared, my expectations for ſome hours previous, having been of accord with the information: and although the epithets of old, rotten and leaky, uſed by the enfuriated captain, were, from all appearance, very correctly true, I was grown too reſigned, or too callous to all the ills of my ſituation, to experience any feelings of alarm reſpecting our ſafety.

After ſome delay the veſſel did *come about*, and we again ſtood on, boldly, for the land, making all poſſible ſail; the maſter and his crew not deſpairing of being able to reach Berbiſche by night. But, as if the very fates had combined with the elements, to throw every obſtacle in the way of our paſſage, the breeze ſuddenly dropped, and we were beſet in a calm! Againſt this impediment neither the oaths of the commander, nor the exertions of the ſailors could ought avail. The captain who had already opened his whole ſtore of imprecations was about to repeat them with manful energy, but, recollecting himſelf, he beſtowed one round curſe

upon the wind and the passage, and as a closing exclamation cried out—"*D—n the old tub, it is not her fault neither—there is not a thimbleful of wind! Dammee if we shall get in this week!*"

Thus ended the sailing of the day, and we again let go our anchor for the night. The poor harassed man now became more tranquil, and I took courage to address him in conversation, when I learned, that after all the fatigue and exertions of the day, we were further from Berbische than we had been the preceding night; but that we had the advantage of lying in deeper water, and, consequently, were better situated for availing ourselves of the morning breeze.

I resumed my hard birth, protected as before, and bade defiance to the many companions of my nest. Nausea had distressed me throughout the day, and the restored power of my olfactories was not in favor of its removal. The very severe reaching had ceased, but the want of food, and the extreme heat of the atmosphere rendered me feeble and languid: yet I was more comfort-

lefs than ill, and feemed only to require reft to relieve me from perfonal fufferings. Unhappily this was denied me, and, in naufea, and difcomfort, I rolled out the tedious hours of night.

The fifth morning of this wretched voyage was ferene and clear, and I left my fleeplefs couch at an early hour to breathe a purer air upon deck; when, upon looking out, I perceived an ifland not far diftant, and lying directly in our courfe. From the failors I learned that it was within the mouth of the river Berbifche. This was happy intelligence, and feemed to promife a fpeedy termination of our teemful voyage. When the captain came upon deck, he greeted me with a broad oath, affuring me that I fhould breakfaft at Fort William Frederic. I wifhed it might be fo: indeed all feemed now within our reach, and it appeared to be fcarcely poffible that any new impediment could interrupt the completion of our paffage; but the experience we had had was fufficient to create doubts in the mind of the moft fanguine, and to temper his warmeft expectations to the fobriety of tardy and interrupted accomplifhment—nay, to convince him

that the uncertainties of a ſea voyage could never end until the foot was again upon *terra firma*. If any ſtronger conviction of this fact could have been required, it had been amply ſupplied to my mind by what followed.

At ſeven o'clock we weighed anchor, and immediately made all poſſible ſail, with the iſland diſplaying its thick woods, directly a-head of the ſloop, and forming a very pleaſing object. As we came nearer to it, I obſerved that it was ſituated about the middle of the river, and nearly oppoſite to the landing place at the fort. All ſeemed now propitious, and we ſailed ſmoothly on: but we had yet to experience a further trial of patience! An hour had not paſſed, from the time of our getting under weigh, before our progreſs was completely arreſted by the Voltigeur again ſtriking upon the mud. "*By Heav'ns*," exclaimed the captain, "*ſhe's aground! This is worſe than ever!*" All his vexations were now cruelly aggravated by the mortification of his pride, in conſequence of being ſeen from the fort; and he ran, ſtamped, ſtormed, and curſed in loud burſts of rage, which out-did all his former doings. I felt the leſs annoyed by this

additional delay, from the opportunity it afforded me of contemplating the ſcene before us—more particularly as the veſſel could not ſuffer any injury from her ſoft bed, and as we were near enough to reach the ſhore in the boat, even ſhould any accident render it neceſſary for us to quit the ſloop. The beſt exertions of the crew were of no avail—fixed in the mud we were compelled to let go the anchor, and wait until the flood of tide ſhould again ſet us afloat.

The view before us was that of a wild country, only juſt opening into cultivation. It comprized an extent of wood and water, with ſmall patches of land breaking into incipient tillage, but it had nothing of the bold and romantic ſcenery of mountainous regions. The picture was ſoft and harmonious. We were lying a few miles out at ſea, looking directly up the river; the quiet waters of which were ſtealing, in tranquil ſtream, to the ocean. No part of the territory of the iſland was viſible, but from being flat and low, it appeared a mere cluſter of trees, growing out of the water, and cauſing a pleaſant break in the wide embouchure of the river. On the

right was the western shore covered with one mass of heavy forest, whose gigantic timbers, gradually elevating their crowded summits from the water's edge, formed one wide expanse of interminable verdure, which fancy might easily have converted into a green field of immense extent, gently sloping to the water. On the left was the eastern shore, shaded also with deep forests; but, on this side, the river's bank was partially thinned of its woods—and presented to our view the fort and batteries, with a deep savanna at the back of them. I gazed in earnest contemplation upon the solemn wildness of the scene, and lamented not the accident which had so peculiarly placed it before me. For a moment my mind was wholly abstracted from every thing directly around me, and rambling in the society of the wild men, the monkies, and other animals that inhabit *the bush*, I was totally lost amidst these vast and unbounded forests. But I was quickly interrupted from my reverie and recalled from the endless woods, by a loud cry of "*All hands to heave the anchor.*" The tide had supplied us with water to float the sloop, and we lost no time in attempting to escape from our muddy birth.

The vessel now stood directly into the mouth of the river, and, being careful to keep the middle of the stream, we again felt secure of our passage. But the fates had not yet sufficiently schooled us in adversity. Before we had time to reach the fort the wind dropped, and, from the vessel disobeying the helm, we again drifted aground. This was worse than all; and the poor captain now swore that "*the very devil himself must have set his spell upon the vessel!*"

We were again compelled to let go the anchor, in order to wait the return of the breeze. Being near to the island and the fort, I might have gone on shore in the boat, but I could not venture to ask our angry commander to spare any of his men for that purpose. I had often, before, seen him expend his wrath without presuming to interrupt him. It was now increased to frenzy, and he loudly vociferated—"*There is some daamm devil in the ship that's bringing us this passage, and we must heave him overboard, or, we shan't get in this month.*" It was perilous to speak to him, and, if any thing I might say should chance to cross him, it was not certain but, in the over-

flowings of his rage, he might fix upon me as the "*Jonas*," and deem it expedient to take his meafures accordingly. At all events it was neceffary to keep out of the way, in order not to interrupt him or his men in working the veffel; I therefore remained below, during the high tide of his ravings and ftampings, fhewing my head only at the hatchway, like an unhappy object peeping out of a prifon.

We remained for a confiderable time deep fixed in mud. Luckily the meridian fun approached with a fine breeze in his fuite, and we were once more fet afloat, when we were quickly placed alongfide the battery at St. Andrew's fort, and I moft gladly jumped on fhore, rejoicing in the termination of a voyage which had been haraffing and vexatious, beyond all that the moft ill-tokened calculation could have anticipated. Never was poor fuffering prifoner more happy in being releafed from long confinement, than I was to efcape from my noifome abode in the Voltigeur. During four fad long days, and four ftill more wearifome nights had I been immured in the filthieft of all filthy dungeons, ill, and in a

manner without food or ſupport, having only the repetition of bad plantains every day for breakfaſt, for dinner, and for ſupper.

I was met at the water's edge by Mr. Mackie, the acting ſurgeon of the garriſon, who kindly conducted me to an apartment, where I could caſt off my ſea garments, and ſubmit my perſon to the purifying proceſs of a complete ablution. Few, perhaps, would have wiſhed for my birth on board the wretched Voltigeur—but all might have envied me the luxury of my bath on leaving it! I cannot tell you how delightful—how grateful it was! The adult baptiſm of the moſt devoted bigot could not be more enchanting. It was in truth the water of holineſs. It refreſhed, it animated,—nay, inſpired me! I felt new life, and certainly was . . . . *a very different being!* On landing I had been ſick and comfortleſs, with my head dizzy, my knees trembling, and my whole frame enfeebled: but, after my ablution, I felt born a-new; my ſtrength returned; I was no longer ſick; a general glow of health and freſhneſs was diffuſed over me, and I became the creature of . . . . a new world!

LETTER XIX.

Situation of Fort William Frederic. Indians, tigers, monkies, and parrots inhabit the surrounding woods. A town, to be called New Amsterdam, building upon the banks of the rivers Berbische and Kannye. Dutch garrison-hospital at Berbische fitted up by the author. Ninety-third regiment in garrison at Fort William Frederic. Excellent discipline of this regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Gammell. Author afflicted with a complaint in his legs. A soldier drowned in bathing. Remarks occasioned by the sorrowful effect of the accident upon his comrades. Examination after a case of yellow fever. Author intends to pursue his inquiries respecting the diseased appearances. Written opinions regarding the yellow fever very discordant.

Berbische, June 3.

FORT St. Andrew is situated on the eastern bank of the river Berbische, opposite to the island which graces its entrance. It appears isolated from the colony, and from the world: no house nor building of any kind—nothing bearing the semblance of the abode of man is within sight of it: nor is there any way of escaping from it, either on foot, in a carriage, or on horseback; the river being the

only private path, and the only public road. At the back of the fort is a deep and wild ſavanna, giving habitation to enormous ſnakes, alligators, loud-roaring frogs, and other reptiles. This naked waſte extends to a great diſtance, and is bordered by dark foreſts, which reach near to the fort, and preclude every view except of the water and the flat uncultivated ſavanna. In theſe woods wild Indians range wide and free. Sometimes alſo tigers are ſeen prowling from their deep ſhades; and our ears are daily and almoſt hourly ſaluted with the loud chattering of monkies, the horrid ſcreaming of parrots, and the confuſed noiſe of numerous other inhabitants.

The fort is calculated for the accommodation of between two and three hundred men. The territory attached to it is ſcarcely more extenſive than the buildings, and the whole garriſon is confined to a circle of leſs than half a mile; the only promenade, without the gates, being from the barrack to the hoſpital, and back from the hoſpital to the barrack, a diſtance of little more than a hundred yards. A ſhort path has, indeed, been opened into the ſavanna, which forms a very limited walk,

in the time of the dry ſeaſon, only. A few of the government negroes, who are employed at the fort, have conſtructed ſmall huts at the back of the hoſpital, which call to my remembrance the cottagers' cabins I have ſeen in the Highlands of Scotland. At theſe habitations, we ſometimes witneſs the joyous dance—and have our ears regaled with the ſound of the rude African drum, the rattle, and the banjar.

Beyond the immediate precincts of the fort we do not find any human abode, without making a journey of, at leaſt, a mile and half by water. At that diſtance is now forming the town of Amſterdam, the new capital of the colony. Between the fort and the town the river Kannye opens into the great Berbiſche river; and between the Kannye and the fort, the border of the parent river is ſtill covered with the wild woods: but theſe are now doomed to the axe, and ſoon a road will be opened upon the bank of the river Berbiſche to the river Kannye, and from the oppoſite ſhore of that river to the town. This will be a great, and deſirable improvement. It will at once relieve the wildneſs of the ſituation, and

ſcenery of the fort, form a convenient promenade, for hörſe and foot, and remove the dull ſolitude of the garriſon, by eſtabliſhing a more ready intercourſe with the capital.

The town is yet in embryo. According to a plan formed for its conſtruction it is to be built upon the angle, or peninſula, between the rivers Berbiſche and Kannye, extending along the bank of the former. The land on which it is to be erected is in part cleared of its wood, and divided into lots ready for building; but, at preſent, only here and there a ſcattered houſe is to be ſeen. Beyond the prepared land, and not half a mile from the Government houſe, the wild foreſt ſtill overhangs the river Kannye; but thoſe powerful engines the deſtructive axe and all-ſubduing fire are now directed againſt it, and conſequently it cannot long remain—a foreſt.

The whole ſcenery at New Amſterdam, as well as at Fort William Frederic, betrays the infant ſtate of the colony. The drearineſs of the land, juſt robbed of its thick woods—the nakedneſs that prevails around the Government houſe—the want of roads and paths—

the wild savanna—the heavy forests; in short all that meets the eye conveys the idea of a country just emerging from its original wildness, into cultivation.

Since my arrival in this colony my hours have been busily occupied in attending the sick, and establishing regulations and arrangements for their accommodation. We have a garrison-hospital, built by the Dutch, which is tolerably commodious, and, with a few alterations, may probably serve for the present garrison. The Hollanders, without any regard to climate, had preserved their European custom of placing the sick, two or three together, in a species of box, with high enclosed sides, instead of keeping them separated, and giving them the advantages of air and cleanliness, by placing them upon bedsteads.

I have directed that all those confined and offensive bed-boxes should be removed, and have given orders to have some bedsteads made upon a new construction, which I trust will prove both convenient and comfortable. They will consist merely of four short posts, those at the top a little longer than those at the bot-

tom, and two ſide rails, fitted together with wooden pins, and ſo contrived as to be conveniently taken to pieces, and packed in a portable form, in caſe we ſhould at any time wiſh to remove them. They will be made of mahogany, a wood which is ſo plentiful in theſe colonies as to be employed for every common uſe. A piece of ſtrong canvaſs, ſtretched from ſide to ſide, will form the bedding; a head-board will ſlide into grooves in the two upper poſts, and the ſide-rails will move up and down in an opening cut through them, and be faſtened with pins, ſo as to be at any time raiſed or lowered at the head, without diſturbing the patient. When theſe are finiſhed, I hope to ſee a very complete hoſpital, and the unfortunate ſick will at leaſt have the comfort of being well lodged. Each will have his mahogany bed-ſtead to himſelf, and men with different maladies will not be crowded together in filthy boxes, nor ſhut up from the refreſhing air.

The 93d Regiment is entruſted with the protection and defence of this colony; and I find the officers' meſs one of the pleaſanteſt I have yet met with. In gratitude I ought to

tell you that the whole of the officers emulate their commander in kind and friendly attentions towards to me. Indeed I cannot but be ſtrongly ſenſible of the many marks of politeneſs and civility with which I am daily honored. Moſt of the officers are men of cultivated manners. Among them are ſeveral of conſiderable fortune, and ſome of rank—men who are not only well-diſciplined ſoldiers, but well-bred gentlemen; being no leſs verſed in the poliſhed rules of civil, than in the auſtere obſervances of a military life. The general order and decorum which mark their conduct afford the ſureſt indication of correct diſcipline, and offer the moſt convincing proof of the high advantage derived from ſerving under a ſtrict, but reſpected commanding-officer. Colonel Gammell, while he ſuffers no remiſſion of duty, is affable and pleaſant towards thoſe under his command. He treats them as companions, and ſeeks to engage their affection and eſteem. The ſoldiers conſider him ſevere; but he is their friend, and the majority of them are not inſenſible of it. We frequently overhear the converſations and remarks of thoſe about the hoſpital regarding him, and they always terminate very much to his credit; for if one

calls him rigorous or ſevere, another inſtantly contraſts what they regard as his better qualities, ſaying "why to be ſure he is a little *cloſe upon us*, and *keeps us to it;* but then you know it is for our own advantage; and, beſides, how good he is to us when we are ſick! You ſee he keeps theſe doctors to their duty, too. He comes to ſee us himſelf every day, and makes them give us plenty of every thing that's good for us; and 'tisn't all officers do that you know! Some of 'em are more afraid of an hoſpital than a cannon ball, and never care whether we die or live!".

In this way their remarks uſually go to the approval of the Colonel's conduct towards them; and like good ſoldiers, they acknowledge their eſteem for a commander who, by impoſing a ſtrict routine of duty, gives them cauſe to pride themſelves upon a degree of pre-eminence in point of health and diſcipline.

Among the many ills of climate, I am now ſuffering from a teazing eruption which has thrown itſelf out upon my legs; a com-

plaint which I find has lately been prevalent among the troops in this colony, although we had not obſerved any thing of it at Demarara. It is more ſevere than the prickly heat, but ſomewhat of the ſame nature; and is, perhaps, only an aggravated degree of that diſeaſe. It creates an uneaſy ſenſation, not amounting to ſevere pain, but ſufficient to rob me of reſt.

I am ſorry to note to you that we had the misfortune to loſe one of the ſoldiers the morning after my arrival at Berbiſche, from his going into deep water in bathing, and not being able to ſwim. Several of his comrades, and alſo ſome negroes, who ſaw him ſink, ſwam inſtantly to the ſpot, and dived to the bottom in ſearch of him, but without ſucceſs. He was drowned and probably carried away by the ſtream. The next morning the body was found floating upon the ſurface of the river very near to the fort. I mention this accident the more particularly from having marked its effect upon the minds of the ſoldiers of the garriſon, and having obſerved that the accidental death of an individual operates with, preciſely, ſimilar influence upon the feelings of men actually engaged in war, as of peo-

ple occupied in the peaceful round of civil life. Moſt perſons witneſs, or even read the account of any one being murdered, or killed by accident, with ſentiments of horror and diſtreſs; while the detail of hundreds being ſlain by the ſword ſcarcely excites a paſſing regret.

Similar feelings are evinced by the ſoldiers! More of ſorrow and conſternation prevailed in the garriſon, from the accidental loſs of a ſingle comrade, than, probably, would have been expreſſed, by the ſame men, had thouſands been killed, before them, upon the field of battle! You will be able to explain how it is that death, in the one caſe, ſhould beget ſuch terrors, while, in the other, it ſcarcely excites a momentary impreſſion. We ſhudder with horror, and are loaded with grief at the loſs of an individual; yet the deſtruction of thouſands ſcarcely robs the boſom of a ſigh!

The ſecond day after my arrival at Berbiſche I had the unhappy opportunity of inſpecting the body of a ſoldier who had fallen a ſacrifice to yellow fever. The appearances were ſimilar to thoſe I had witneſſed

at Demarara, except that, in the present instance, there were some striking marks of inflammation within the thorax. I shall further avail myself of the painful occasions that may occur, during my stay in this colony, in order that we may compare the cases with such as may be examined at Demarara during my absence, and after my return, in the hope that we may, thereby, be enabled to judge, with more accuracy, regarding the general appearances, and the actual changes induced by the disease. "Heavens!" Methinks I hear you exclaim, "the man speaks as though he expected the grim tyrant to wield his scythe amongst them, with 'wide-stretched arm." Would it were not so! but, feeling that the relentless destroyer must sometimes defeat us, I should deem it a culpable neglect not to endeavour to reap those professional advantages from his ravages, which may enable us the better to defend others from his hungry grasp. I may candidly acknowledge that although, together with my colleagues, I have been zealous to procure every work written upon the subject, and have devoted my spare time to reading the various authors, and contemplating all that has been said upon the dis-

eaſe called *Yellow fever*, I have been hitherto very undecided, and have had my opinion altogether afloat, reſpecting its nature. From experience, and examination of the diſeaſed appearances, I may hope for more accurate elucidation, and perhaps be enabled to arrive at ſome general maxim, which, in vain, I have looked for in the diſcordant opinions of the ingenious men who have devoted their pens to this great—this intereſting, and moſt important ſubject.

LETTER XX.

A Dutch "vendue" of slaves. Attended by the colonists like a public fair. Quite a holyday or gala-meeting. Manner of exposing the slaves by auction. Method of examining them. Their average value. Conduct of a negro who was put up to the hammer without his wife. Author conducts his friend from African slaves to free Indians. Joins a party of Indians near the river Kannye. Indifference of these people concerning the whites. Another party pack up their furniture and utensils, and return into the woods. The women bear the burden. Indians engage to cut wood, but cannot be relied on. They have no industry—nor any desire to emulate the colonists. A party from the woods come down the river in a canoe to Fort St. Andrew.

Berbische, June.

Since writing to you last I have been present at the sale of a Dutch cargo of slaves, at the new town of Amsterdam. Many of the officers went from the fort to witness this degrading spectacle, and although my feelings had suffered from a similar scene at Demarara, I could not resist the novelty of observing the Dutch mode of proceeding in this sad traffic of human cattle.

On arriving at the town, we were surprized to find it quite a holyday, or a kind of public fair. The sale seemed to have excited general attention, and to have brought together all the inhabitants of the colony. The planters came down from the estates with their wives and families all arrayed in their gayest apparel: the belles and beaux appeared in their Sunday suits: even the children were in full-dress; and their slaves decked out in holyday clothes. It was quite a gala-day, and greater numbers of people were collected than we had supposed to have been in the colony. Short jackets, with tawdry wide-flowered petticoats, and loose Dutch slippers formed the prevailing dress of the females. Scarlet, crimson, and poppy, with all the bright colours used in a northern winter, rivalled a tropical sun, and reigned conspicuous in the flaming broad-patterned petticoat. To the inhabitants it seemed a day of feasting and hilarity, but to the poor Africans it was a period of heavy grief and affliction; for they were to be sold as beasts of burden—torn from each other—and widely dispersed about the colony, to wear out their days in the hopeless toils of slavery.

The fair being opened, and the crowd assembled, these unpitied sable beings were exposed to the hammer of public auction. A long table was placed in the middle of a large room, or logis. At one end was seated the auctioneer: at the other was placed a chair for the negroes to stand upon, in order to be exposed to the view of the purchasers; who were sitting at the sides of the table, or standing about the different parts of the room. All being in readiness, the slaves were brought in, one at a time, and placed upon the chair before the bidders, who handled and inspected them, with as little concern as if they had been examining cattle in Smithfield market. They turned them about, felt of them, viewed their shape and their limbs, looked into their mouths, made them jump and throw out their arms, and subjected them to all the means of trial as if dealing for a horse, or any other brute-animal. Indeed the indelicacy shewn towards the poor defenceless Africans, by some of these dealers in their species, was not less unmanly and disgusting than it was insulting to humanity.

We were shocked to observe women in

the room who had come to the fair for the express purpose of purchasing slaves. Nay, even children were brought to point the lucky finger, and the boy or girl, thus chosen, was bought by papa at the request of superstitious mama, to give to young massa or missy!

The price of these poor degraded blacks varied from 600 to 900 guilders, according to their age and strength, or their appearance of being healthy or otherwise. The boys and girls were sold for 600 or 700 guilders—some of the men fetched as high as 900—and the women were knocked down at about 800.

In the course of the sale, a tall and robust negro, on being brought into the auction-room, approached the table with a fine negress hanging upon his arm. The man was ordered to mount the chair. He obeyed, though manifestly with reluctance. His bosom heaved, and grief was in his eye. The woman remained in the crowd. A certain price was mentioned to set the purchase forward, and the bidding commenced: but on the slave being desired to exhibit the activity of his limbs, and to display his person, he sunk his

chin upon his breaſt, and hung down his head in poſitive refuſal—then, looking at the woman, made ſigns expreſſive of great diſtreſs. Next he pointed to her, and then to the chair, evidently intimating that he deſired to have her placed by his ſide. She was his choſen wife, and nature was correctly intelligible. Not obtaining immediate acquieſcence, he became agitated and impatient. The ſale was interrupted, and as he could not be prevailed upon to move a ſingle muſcle by way of exhibiting his perſon, the proceedings were at a ſtand. He looked again at the woman,—again pointed to the chair,—held up two fingers to the auctioneer, and implored the multitude in anxious ſuppliant geſtures. Upon his countenance was marked the combined expreſſion of ſorrow, affection, and alarm. He grew more and more reſtleſs, and repeated ſigns which ſeemed to ſay—"Let us be ſold together. Give me my heart's choice as the partner of my days, then diſpoſe of me as you pleaſe, and I will be content to wear out my life in the heavy toils of bondage." It was nature that ſpake—and her language could not be miſtaken! Humanity could no longer reſiſt the appeal, and it was univerſally agreed that they

ſhould make but one lot. A ſecond chair was now brought, and the woman was placed at the ſide of her huſband. His countenance inſtantly brightened. He hung upon the neck of his wife, and embraced her with rapture—then folding her in his arms, and preſſing her to his boſom, he became compoſed; and looked round with a ſmile of complacency, which plainly ſaid "proceed!—I am yours, yours, or yours! Let this be the aſſociate of my toils, and I am ſatisfied." The bidding was renewed! They exhibited marks of health and ſtrength, and, quickly, the two were ſold together for 1650 guilders.

"Enough!"—you will ſay. "Give me no more of ſlaves, nor of ſlavery!"—For the preſent I obey, and, leaving the duſky Africans, proceed to introduce you to the copper-colored Indians; thus, leading you to the oppoſite extreme of human life, and placing you among thoſe of our ſpecies, who ſpurn alike the ſhackles of ſlavery, and the ſlaviſh trammels of ſociety. I have lately had an opportunity of ſeeing ſeveral parties of the wild and naked inhabitants of theſe woods—men who range, at large, in the fulleſt free-

dom of nature; neither suffering their liberty to be effaced by bondage, nor abridged by civilization. Being one day at the town of New Amsterdam with the acting surgeon of the garrison, we took a walk down to the Bush *, on the border of the creek or river Kannye. Nigh to the water we met with a party of Indians, and observing that they made no attempt to avoid us, we went so near to them as to mix in the group. We found them engaged in various pursuits; and remarked that none of their occupations suffered any interruption from our presence. A woman and her son, who were in the river, continued to bathe before us, and seemed greatly to enjoy the water. Some were cutting wood for firing —some collecting the Bush-water † with a calabash, for the purpose of drinking, or of cooking—some, with their pot of baked clay upon the fire, were stewing crabs, together with capsicum and cassada juice into pepper pot—and some were eating the raw tops of the mountain cabbage. To the latter I held

* Upon this coast the forest is termed the *Bush*.

† The rain water which lodges in the low parts of the forest.

forth my hand implying a desire to partake of their repast. They immediately gave me a part; and seemed pleased on observing me eat of it. A better sallad I never tasted. It was very crisp and white—much superior to the best lettuce or endive; and, in flavour, somewhat resembling the filbert. Perceiving that they were not incommoded by our society, we remained a considerable time attentively watching their proceedings; but their curiosity was not commensurate with our own, for they scarcely looked at us, or appeared to be, in any degree, interested concerning us. With indifference they saw us approach—they regarded us with indifference whilst we remained—and with indifference they witnessed our departure.

Two days after, I saw a much larger party of Indians, who came to the Government house to ask for rum, as a compensation for cutting down timber: and the same evening, on walking towards the creek with some of the officers, we met with a still more numerous body of these inhabitants of the forest, who had been employed by the Governor to cut down wood preparatory to clearing the

land near the town for cultivation. They were busied in packing up all their little store of implements and utensils, in order to return to their native abode in the woods. Bows and arrows, apparatus for preparing cassada, the clay cooking-vessel, hammocks, calabashes, and crab-baskets constituted their whole list of stores and furniture. All these were light in structure, or made of light materials, and, being arranged in compact order, were easily carried on their backs. The women were made to bear the burden; while the men took no share of the load. One man, who had three wives, very neatly packed upon their backs, the whole of what he had to carry away; then taking up a long staff, he marched on before with lordly step, the wives following him in silent train, one after another. We walked gently behind a party of about forty as far as the creek, and there saw some of them embark in their canoes, and paddle up the river, while the others took a narrow path leading into the depths of the forest; and presently the whole body of them were out of sight, leaving not a trace of their visit behind.

They come down, occasionally, in parties, and enter into an engagement to cut wood for a certain compensation; but no dependence can be placed upon them for a single day, for they sometimes pack up all belonging to them, and return suddenly and unexpectedly into the woods; from whence they come not again for several months, perhaps not at all. They are naturally indolent, and, being tenacious of freedom, they become impatient of the restraint imposed by daily labour; wherefore, they hastily cast it off, and fly back to the woods to range in their native liberty, which knows no bounds, nor controul. From possessing a degree of expertness in the felling of timber, they might be highly useful in forwarding the cultivation of the colony, but they have no sense of industry, nor do they seem to acquire the least disposition to emulate the colonists ina ny of their pursuits:—content with finding food and pepper in the woods, they have no ambition to become planters. Cotton is not necessary to protect their naked skins; nor are their appetites so refined as to require either coffee or sugar.

At the fort we have alſo had a viſit from an Indian family, who came to us in the true ſtyle of native accommodation—exhibiting the full equipage of the family canoe, and forming a ſcene of high intereſt and novelty. Before the canoe reached the fort, we obſerved the long black hair and naked ſkins of the man, his two wives, and ſeveral children, who were all ſtowed about the veſſel with the ſtricteſt attention to equipoiſe—*trimming* it moſt exactly. The canoe was large, and, in addition to the family, was loaded with cedar and other kinds of wood for ſale or barter. On the top of the cargo appeared a ferocious-looking animal, ſetting up his briſtles like the quills of the porcupine. It was a ſpecies of wild hog caught in the foreſt, and hence called a *buſh-hog*. A ſmall monkey was likewiſe ſkipping about the canoe. At one ſide ſat two very fine parrots; and on the other was perched a large and moſt beautiful mackaw, exhibiting all the rich ſplendour of his gay plumage. On the canoe arriving at the landing place, the bow and arrows, the clay cooking-veſſel, calabaſhes, hammocks, and crab-baſkets, were all brought into view, and we gazed on the whole, as forming a very com-

plete and ſtriking ſpecimen of original equipage, and accommodation. The whole family—the houſehold apparatus—the bow and arrows—the canoe and paddles—the hammocks—in ſhort all the furniture and implements for cooking, for ſleeping, for ſhooting, fiſhing, and travelling were here moved together in one compact body, ſo as to render it indifferent to them, whether they ſhould return to the home from whence they came, or take up a new abode in any other part of the foreſt.

LETTER XXI.

Politeneſs and hoſpitality of Governor Van Battenburg towards the author. The Government-houſe. Its ſituation and conſtruction. Excurſion up the creek orriver Kannye. Eſtate of Mynheer Ongre. Its produce in coffee—in cocoa. Number and value of the ſlaves. Mode of preparing cocoa and chocolate. Food, drink, plates, diſhes, medicine, and clothing all grow in the fields. Berbiſche widely remote from head-quarters. Uncertainty of receiving news from the army. Route by which it commonly reaches Berbiſche. Brave conduct of a black corps at St. Lucie. The gallant Colonel Malcolm falls at their head. Uncertain of remaining in Guiana, the author directs his letters to be ſent to St. Domingo. Garriſon not unmindful of the 4th of June. Enchanting echo through the heavy foreſts.

Berbiſche, June.

I HAVE lately had opportunities of making ſeveral boat excurſions, with Colonel Gammell and others of the officers, to New Amſterdam, and have had the honor of being preſented to Governor and Madame Van Battenburg, of whoſe hoſpitable and polite attentions I cannot expreſs myſelf in ſufficient terms of praiſe. They have kindly invited me to take up my abode at the government-houſe, during my

ſtay in the colony, but I have to lament that my duties at the hoſpital will not allow me to avail myſelf of ſo flattering and agreeable an accommodation.

The government-houſe is, beyond all compariſon, the handſomeſt and moſt ſpacious edifice I have yet ſeen in South America. It is built near to the river, with one front commanding the water—the other the town. At the entrance is a handſome flight of ſteps, leading to a ſpacious hall, which extends acroſs the building, throughout its whole depth. At the upper end of the hall an open double ſtair-caſe leads up to another large room, which alſo runs acroſs the centre of the building, having the windows of one end looking to the town, and thoſe of the other to the river. At the ſides of this room, and opening into it, are the different apartments occupying the four angles of the building.

From this conſtruction a free current of air is preſerved in the great central room, and all the other apartments, by communicating with it, are kept pleaſantly cool.

A few days ago I joined a ſmall party from the fort, in an excurſion to ſome of the planters' eſtates up the river Kannye, and was particularly gratified in viewing the rich plantation of Mynheer Ongre. We breakfaſted and ſet off at an early hour, in order to have the day before us, and arrived at this gentleman's abode juſt as he was ſitting down to his Dutch breakfaſt of very excellent crab ſoup, ſome fine fiſh, a tongue, and a variety of other good things. It is the cuſtom of the Dutch to take coffee in bed, or as ſoon as they riſe, and to make a more ſubſtantial breakfaſt of ſoup and ſolids about ten o'clock. After partaking of this repaſt, we were conducted about the eſtate, which is rich and well cultivated, yielding abundance of coffee, cocoa, and ſome cotton. The annual produce of coffee is eſtimated at 140,000lb. weight, and of cocoa 10,000lb. Two hundred ſlaves are employed upon the eſtate, calculated at the value of from 50l. to 100l. each. The houſe is handſome and ſpacious—the plantation extenſive, and the coffe elogis upon a very large ſcale: the whole exhibiting the appearance of fertility and opulence. Having viſited the fields of coffee, and the cacoa plantation, we next went

to the logis, where we ſaw the cocoa ſeeds expoſed for drying, preparatory to their being made into chocolate; and, alſo, great quantities of coffee undergoing the laſt proceſs, previous to being ſent to market. It was the firſt extenſive plantation of cocoa I had ſeen, and, in witneſſing the mode of preparing this into chocolate, I could not but notice that what is commonly uſed as cocoa, in England, is only the ſhell or outer covering of the ſeed—the kernel, or true cocoa being uſed for making the chocolate. If, therefore, you ſhould wiſh to drink cocoa, rememember you can only have it good by boiling chocolate thin and weak, the common cocoa being no other than the huſks or ſweepings, which cannot be uſed in preparing the chocolate.

At another eſtate we were regaled with fruit, and ſome pines were put into the boat, when we were going away. Here we alſo pulled from the trees ſome calabaſhes of uncommon ſize, to take home with us to uſe by way of bowls and platters. We likewiſe gathered ſome roots of jalap from under the hedges, and obſerved the ipecacuanha growing in the fields. Thus, you find, that however

ſhut from the world, we can neither want fruit, food, nor phyſic; for the hedges, the fields, and the gardens amply ſupply them all —drink, clothing, and condiment we alſo collect from the trees, the plants, and the buſhes; and, in the calabaſh, bountiful nature has even furniſhed us with plates, baſons and diſhes.

We are here ſo removed from the head-quarters of the army, that I ſcarcely know which would be moſt reaſonable...... for you to expect news of its operations from Berbiſche, or for me to aſk tidings of its proceedings from England! No direct or regular communication is eſtabliſhed, and the little intercourſe continued between us is highly uncertain and precarious. The intelligence that reaches us is moſt commonly accidental, and in its circuitous route, it is new-modelled, by ſuch a variety of reporters, and becomes ſo garbled and disfigured, that too frequently it preſerves ſcarcely any features of accuracy. From the army it travels to ſome ſhip, and is tranſported to Barbadoes. There, perhaps, it takes a long reſt, or wanders over the iſland. Next it is picked up in the ſtreets, in a diſtorted form, by ſome trading captain, or his

ſailors, and carried to Demarara. There it ſtrays again throughout the colony, and is tortured and mangled, until, its mutilated remains being thrown into ſome chance boat, it is finally ſent to receive the rites of ſepulture at Berbiſche!

We have juſt heard that the troops of the black corps, which we ſaw at Barbadoes, have behaved with great ſpirit and bravery at St. Lucie: but that the gallant Colonel Malcolm, having unhappily been killed at the head of them, they were repulſed, from an attack of the Vigie, at the very moment when victory was declaring in their favor. It is alſo ſaid that the 37th regiment has ſuffered very conſiderably; but the gazette will have given you a more correct account of the attack and its reſult long before this letter can reach you; ſtill it may ſerve to ſhew how late and defective the intelligence comes to us from the great body of the army. It is further reported that General Whyte is gone down to St. Domingo, and that the detachment of the hoſpital department, remaining in theſe colonies, is ſoon to follow. This confirms the uncertainty of my ſituation, and renders it difficult for me

to receive tidings from you or any other friends in England. Perhaps it were beſt to addreſs to me at the head-quarters of the St. Domingo army; then I may chance, ſome day or other, to receive the letters; but if they are ſent to Guiana, I may be relieved before they arrive, and they may never overtake me.

Although we had not the uſual incitements of a ſumptuous dinner and a ſplendid ball, we were not unmindful that the 4th inſt. was a day of rejoicing. The troops fired a *feu de joie*; and a royal ſalute ſounded through the thick woods from the fort, and from an armed ſchooner which was lying in the river. Bumpers were filled to his majeſty's health, and we were merry and happy as you who are revelling in all the luxuries of London. One treat was added to our feaſt, which, even in that all-ſupplying place, you would fail to meet with, and which I know would have extremely delighted you:—viz. the report of the cannon through the deep woods around us, with the ſhrieks and cries of parrots, monkies, and the other wild inhabitants on hearing it: and, above all, the enchanting echo which was returned to us acroſs the river. Never did

found more delight the ear! I had liftened each night, with rapture, to the folemn reverberations of the evening gun, and was quite prepared to watch the effect of a more heavy firing. It was fublime, and wanted only the ftillnefs of evening, and the timid rays of the moon to render it celeftial. Iffuing from the cannon, it hung in murmurs among the woods; and being foftened by the water, echoed in notes which thrilled the frame with fenfations of delight; indeed fo grand was the effect, that one might almoft pardon the enthufiaft who fhould figh for an action by moonlight, in order to enjoy the foul-tranfporting echo of thefe wild and endlefs forefts. On efcaping from the fort, the found feems firft to crofs a part of the water, and rolls foftly through the ifland of trees, at the river's mouth: from thence it traverfes the remainder of the wide ftream, and on reaching the thick woods of the oppofite fhore, it fuddenly echoes, as if abruptly repulfed into the water. Afterwards it breaks through the forefts, and is heard in rumbling undulation, as if interrupted in its courfe, till at length its awful reverberations fteal their hollow way through the diftant woods in heavy-rolling thunder.

LETTER XXII.

News reaches Berbische of the capture of the island of St. Lucie. A sentinel on guard destroyed by the "Coup de Soliel." Marked case of yellow fever in a grenadier, named Llewellyn. The Savanna near fort William Frederic inhabited by alligators. A sentinel, frightened by the approach of one of those amphibia in the night, fires and alarms the garrison. The alligator an animal of great strength and hideous form: Is strongly protected against external injury: is peculiarly susceptible of life; His flesh used by the negroes as food. Visit of a party to the governor's and Mr. Blair's fete given to the slaves at the government-house. Author's reflections on the scene. The dance interrupted by a party of the sons of Bacchus. Humorous remarks of the governor indicative of his correct knowledge of the English language. Politeness of the governor and Madame Van Battenburg, to the officers. Sumptuous entertainment at Mr. Blair's. Author visits the "Yaw-house." Wretched appearance of the objects afflicted with this hideous malady. A distant excursion projected, in which the Author hopes to join.

Berbische, June.

On the 10th inst. a sloop arrived from Demarara bringing us news of the surrender of St. Lucie: but stating only the simple fact, unconfirmed by any authentic details. Still we cheerfully hail the tidings, not doubting

but the conqueſt has been honorable to our countrymen and comrades.

Since I wrote to you laſt we have had the misfortune to loſe one of the ſoldiers by the diſeaſe called coup de ſoleil, or ictus ſolis. The poor man was on guard and ſtationed as ſentinel to take his turn of duty for two hours at the gate of the fort, but before this ſhort period had elapſed he was ſuddenly ſeized, fell down, and expired at his poſt. The day was exceſſively hot, and the perpendicular rays of the ſun fell in their fulleſt ardor upon his head. Others of the men have likewiſe experienced the diſeaſe, but we have only, in this inſtance, ſeen it fatal.

I may alſo mention to you a very marked and melancholy caſe of yellow fever which has occurred at fort William Frederic, affording a ſtriking example of the nature of this afflictive malady. A grenadier named Llewellyn, a handſome and well made man, of robuſt figure, was brought into the hoſpital, complaining only of an uneaſy ſenſation about the region of the ſtomach, which although indeſcribable, conveyed to him an early aſſur-

ance of the fatal tendency of the disease, with which he was attacked. On asking him to explain his complaints, and the feelings which so alarmed him, he replied—"*I feel that I shall die.*" and placing his hand over his stomach, said he had "something there" that would soon kill him. We used all the means in our power to divert him from this desponding impression—but in vain! nothing he said could restore him, for he felt the hand of death upon him. He evidently laboured under an attack of the disorder, termed yellow fever; but, with the exception of this fatal sensation, no symptom was present which could have led to the apprehension of immediate danger. At my next visit on the following morning, I found him sitting up, and apparently somewhat relieved; but on my asking him how he was, he still replied—"*Dying! I feel that I shall soon be gone.*"—He continued perfectly rational and collected until the next day; when, alas! death but too surely confirmed the accuracy of his predictions. From the moment of attack he had felt assured, that nothing could save him! The indescribable feeling he complained of, seemed to induce a rapid exhaustion of the vital powers, while it formed, not only

the leading feature—but almost the only symptom of the disease.

Upon examination, we found the same redness of the inner coat of the stomach, which we had observed in all cases of yellow fever, and in the lungs were some strong marks of recent inflammation.

I mentioned in a former letter that alligators were in the list of our neighbours at Fort William Frederic. They abound in the adjoining savanna, and in their journey down a small muddy stream to the river, they often visit the fosse surrounding the fort; and sometimes are even bold enough to ascend the works, and peep like spies from the ramparts. One of them lately alarmed a sentinel in the night, by suddenly approaching him as he was standing at his post within the fort. The soldier, terrified at so unexpected a visitor, in the impulse of surprise fired upon the animal, and spread an alarm throughout the garrison. The guard instantly turned out, and all the troops were roused, and flying to arms, in the idea that the enemy was about to land—But lo! the frightened crocodile retreated,

and the ſoldiers, inſtead of fighting, had only to return to their beds!

We have ſince had one of theſe frightful amphibia killed, and I may venture to ſay, that a more hideous ſpecimen of the animal creation, can ſcarcely be met with. It appeared the moſt forbidding of nature's forms. The green eyes, the ſharp teeth and monſtrous jaws, the ſtrong waving tail, the hard impenetrable ſkin, and the ſhort thick legs, and formidable claws, together with the circumſtance of its crawling ſo near the earth, render the alligator a real object of horror. He is ſtrongly armed both for attack and defence: while his ſcaly horn-like ſkin, ſerves as a protecting coat of mail, he poſſeſſes, as an aſſailant, the devouring graſp of his ſhark-like teeth, and the power of ſtriking a blow with his ſtrong ſhell-like tail, which might knock a man down, or fracture his legs.—His ſhort limbs are alſo of peculiar ſtrength, and are each armed with four powerful claws.

With all this ſtrength of form, and of action, he is an animal ſingularly tenacious of life: indeed, by the common means of deſtruction

it is impoffible at once to deprive him of animation; for however cut, beaten or torn, ftill figns of vitality remain for a confiderable time. It is only with extreme difficulty that he is conquered in the firft inftance, and—even when fubdued—to kill him is ftill a tafk. Unlefs at certain parts, a mufquet ball will not penetrate his fkin, and a ftrong blow fcarcely does him any injury. If cut, or torn in pieces, and left to appearance dead, he, for a long time after, exhibits marks of vitality upon being touched.

The one we deftroyed was firft fhot in the head, but he was ftill a moft dangerous and active enemy, and had nearly feized one of the negroes by the leg. Notwithftanding his being fhot, he remained unfubdued until he had received many fevere blows behind the neck; and for long after this he ftruck very powerfully with his tail. Further attempts were made to kill him, but, as late as two hours from the time he was conquered, he preffed my hand with confiderable force, on taking hold of his claw; for feveral hours longer, he continued to fhew figns of life, and it was even difficult to mark the moment when it became ex-

tinct. I had intended that you should some day have seen his formidable coat of armour, and for that purpose, I had given directions to have it carefully preserved; but from waiting to know that the poor animal was actually dead, before we stripped him of his skin, we unluckily lost him, and I shall only be able to shew you his claws. Having left him near the hospital while we walked into the fort, the negroes took an opportunity of stealing him away; and on returning we found our alligator chopped in pieces, and stewing into soup—the slaves anticipating the mess, as a delicious feast. The meat was white, and not unlike the flesh of a rabbit, and were it not for the common prejudice attaching to its form, perhaps, as food, the alligator might not be found inferior to other amphibious animals. Possibly it might be equal to our high-flavored turtle, or the more delicate frogs of France.

We have lately made a party from the fort, and spent two most pleasant days—one at the governor's—the other with Mr. Blair, a rich planter, residing at a short distance down the coast on the opposite shore of the river.

At the governor's a dance and fête were given in the evening to the slaves, and we were extremely delighted to see with how much of real happiness they enjoyed themselves. They assembled in the great hall of the government-house, having a violin, with the fife and drum for their band. Both negroes and mulattoes danced with an animation and vivacity which bespake them free from care. The governor, his lady, his sister, several gentlemen of the colony, and our party from the fort attended as spectators, and were all amused and gratified in witnessing this merry dance of slaves. While looking upon them at this joyous moment, I bent a thought to Europe, and wished that the tattered and indigent sons of liberty could feel as happy.

Madame Van Battenburg, who is studious to promote the comfort of her sable throng, cordially participated in their mirth, and by her cheerfulness and vivacity added new wings to the festive hours. Reflecting that the peasants who toil in freedom for their daily bread, have not within their reach such complete and cheerful relaxation as was procured to these contented slaves, I became fixed in contem-

plation of the ſcene before me, until the comforts and advantages had nearly concealed from my mind the bitter ills of ſlavery. But buſy recollection brought to my remembrance that every ſlave had not Governor Van Battenburg for a maſter, nor Madame Van Battenburg, for . . . . . . a friend ! for ſuch ſhe truly is to thoſe who ſerve her in bondage.

Until now I had only ſeen the ſlaves perform the rude African dance upon the open green, and had not imagined them capable of moving with ſuch order as they here exhibited in regular country dances.—Even minuets, to our ſurprize, were led down, in preciſe and ſtately ſtep, and with a degree of eaſe and gracefulneſs of movement which is ſeldom witneſſed among the common people of England. Mirth and gaiety ſparkled in every eye, and animated every countenance. It was pleaſure unalloyed, and, yielding to the glowing impulſe of nature, each gladdened ſoul drank in full draughts at the pureſt fountain of enjoyment. They were indeed happy—happy ſlaves !

In the courſe of the evening a circum-

ſtance occurred which had nearly interrupted the order and harmony of the fête; but it terminated with only affording to the governor a pleaſant and facetious opportunity of convincing us of his intimate knowledge of the Engliſh language. In the midſt of the dance three officers of our army and navy, who were not of the party invited, and who had been devoting rather too freely to the roſy god, came reeling, abruptly, into the hall. One of them, with the buſy officiouſneſs of inebriety, inſiſted upon introducing the others to Madame Van Battenburg: but he had forgotten his Engliſh!—or, in the confidence inſpired by wine, was ambitious to diſplay his knowledge of French; and therefore addreſſed her only in the latter language, ſpeaking it ſo incorrectly that it was difficult to comprehend what he ſaid, or rather what he meant to ſay. Alarmed at his reeling and ſtammering, Madame Van Battenburg begged to be protected leſt he ſhould tumble againſt her; and true enough, at this moment, the poor captain fell ſprawling at her feet, and narrowly eſcaped beating her down. After much exertion, and with ſome aſſiſtance, he again roſe up, and ſupported himſelf upon his legs. He had now to

make his apologies, which were likewise attempted in broken French—too bad to be underſtood. During all this his companions were reeling about the hall, but, regardleſs of them, he continued to perſecute Madame Van Battenburg with his bad French, and even inſiſted upon either her or Mademoiſelle Van Battenburg joining with him in the dance, "*Venez, venez, Madame,*" ſaid he—"*il faut danſer—voulez vous viens danſer avec moi?*" but finding he could not prevail with either of the ladies, he ſuddenly turned from them, and happening to ſtumble again upon his companions, each of them ſeized a ſable damſel, and dragging their three ebon partners into the row, took their places in the dance. But it ſoon appeared that they could perform only *reels*, and the country dances of the blacks being interrupted by their preſence, it became neceſſary to lead away theſe *ſlaves . . . . . of the bottle*, in order to prevent both the ſpectators, and the dancers from being deprived of their amuſement; and accordingly, with ſome trouble they were led back to the barrack. Madame Van Battenburg feeling ſurpriſed at our intoxicated captain ſpeaking to her only in bad French, mentioned it as remarkable, that he did not utter one ſyllable of

English: when the governor, on hearing the observation, replied, no! my dear, it is not at all strange that Captain —— should not speak English to-night! on the contrary it is highly proper and correct: you know he is a British officer! True! said Madame Van Battenburg, and that is the very reason why he should speak English! No, no, no! my dear, resumed the governor, that is expressly the reason why he should not—"It would be disloyal in a British officer *to clip the King's English.*" On another occasion this agreeable Dutchman gave a similar proof of his close acquaintance with our language. One day as they were sitting over the bottle, he and an officer of the navy debated respecting some property, which the governor considered as private, and the officer as public. The former urged that it was sacred, and might not be confiscated; while the latter insisted that it was colonial, and ought to be condemned for the benefit of the captors. Each maintained his opinion with amicable warmth—neither yielding to the other. In the evening a ball was given to the party at the governor's house; and in the mirthful dance, the officer, perhaps a little elevated by the debate, or the bottle,

took Madame Van Battenburg in his arms and faluted her. The governor obferving it, inftantly called out with emphafis—"Very well captain! Do you not confider that *private property* either?" Perhaps few foreigners, who have not refided a long time in England, have acquired a more juft idea of the fpirit of our language. The governor is a pleafant well-informed man, and a focial companion. His addrefs is genteel; his manners cultivated. He is hofpitable and friendly: his mind is highly liberal, and in his conduct he obtains general refpect and efteem. His door is always open to his friends: the officers are frequently invited to his table, and he kindly allows them to confider his houfe as a home.

Madame Van Battenburgh is cheerful and entertaining. Her difpofition is lively and animated; fhe fings very fweetly, and in converfation is fprightly and affable. She generoufly emulates the governor in his friendly hofpitality, and, together, they make their abode pleafant and familiar to us all.

There being no coffee-houfe nor tavern at New Amfterdam, and the government-

houſe being moſt conveniently ſituated at the landing place on the bank of the river, we are happy to avail ourſelves of the liberal offer of the governor, and to make his manſion our reſting place, and point of rendezvous, in our occaſional viſits to the town.

To ſpeak of the ſumptuous day we had at Mr. Blair's were to throw an air of doubt upon my former notes regarding the paucity of freſh proviſions in theſe colonies. But let it be remembered that individuals of large eſtate may find the means of procuring a moſt ample ſupply, for their own table, although the colony may not furniſh an overplus to ſend to the public market: and, indeed, at Berbiſche freſh animal food is provided for the troops more frequently than we have yet been able to procure it at Demarara.

Mr. Blair is one of the moſt opulent planters in theſe colonies, and, not diſliking the good things of life himſelf, he has aſſembled them at his place of reſidence in ſufficient ſupply to enable him to treat his friends with the moſt ſumptuous liberality. He is

generous and ſocial, and the riches of his table are diſpenſed with all the bounty of his nature. Inſtead of a plain cottage juſt riſing from the wild woods of an infant ſettlement, we might have fancied ourſelves feaſting in one of the hoſpitable mansions of old England, nay, in ſome chartered hall, even, of voluptuous London itſelf.

The houſe is a compact dwelling, neatly built of plain wood, offering in its exterior nothing to attract the ſtranger's eye, nor to beſpeak the many luxuries within. It ſtands on the border of the ſea, open to the wide ocean. Before it, is an extenſive and flat beach of firm ſand, forming a pleaſant ride or walk at the ſide of the water. The eſtate is quite in its infancy, being recently formed out of the rude foreſt, and indeed only now breaking into cultivation. In great part of it the young plants of cotton are juſt ſhooting from the ſoil between the remaining ſtumps of trees lately deſtroyed. Yet notwithſtanding the infant ſtate of this hoſpitable home, it offers more of the good things of life, than I had ſeen at any other place ſince leaving England. Having no market in the colony, each planter's abode

must necessarily furnish all within itself. No aid can be had from the butcher's, or the baker's, none from the green-grocer's, or poulterer's,—the pastry-cook's, or confectioner's. No such persons are here known, and hence the whole of the entertainment must be the immediate production of the estate: every necessary, every comfort, and every luxury that is given, or enjoyed, must be found in the house or upon the plantation; yet in such plenty were they served at this prolific home, that one might have fancied a Covent-garden, or a Leadenhall market to have been near. From all we had previously seen in the colonies, it had been wild to have conjectured that so complete a collection could have been assembled.

A large and very handsome boat was sent for our conveyance, having an awning at the stern to protect us from the sun; and we were rowed across the mouth of the river by eight of the finest slaves of the estate, who pulled us on with surprising speed. At the landing place another party of slaves were in attendance with horses in readiness to conduct us to the house. The sun was extremely powerful; but we had a pleasant ride about a

mile and a half through fields of cotton and of plantains; the negroes running at the horses sides, according to the custom of the country, as fast as we chose to ride.

Hock and Seltzer water were presented immediately on our arrival, and the time until dinner was most gratefully occupied in the perusal of a packet of newspapers, just arrived from England: than which perhaps a greater treat could not have been offered us. For dinner we had excellent soup, with boiled fish, stewed fish, and fish in pie—also turtle, and crabs, most exquisitely dressed, and forming two uncommonly rich and high-seasoned dishes. We had likewise a side of lamb, a fine goose, a large well-flavored ham, and a variety of other good things. Pies, tarts, and a well compounded *trifle* followed, amidst a complete course of sweets. The cook was quite a proficient, and did every justice to the feast, the whole dinner being well dressed, and as well served. We had afterwards pines, shaddocks, melons, water-lemons, and multitudes of other fruits. Nor were the fluids of the banquet less amply administered. Hock, Claret, Madeira, and Port wines were in liberal

use. We had alſo Seltzer and Spa waters, likewiſe bottled ſmall beer, ale, and porter, with brandy, rum, Hollands, noyeau, and other liqueurs—all in ſupply ſufficient for a lord, mayor's feaſt.

After our good eating and drinking we took a walk about the plantation, and found every corner of it equally plenteous as the table and the cellar. Such a ſtore of living ſtock, both large and ſmall, I had not ſeen upon any eſtate ſince my arrival in the Weſtern world. Here were large herds of cows, oxen, ſheep, and goats; droves of hogs, horſes, and mules; flocks of geeſe, turkies, ducks, Guinea fowls, and chickens. A more gratifying aſſemblage of domeſtic plenty could ſcarcely be found in any country. Among the ſtock I ſhould not omit to mention a pen of living turtles kept in readineſs for the table:—whole droves of crabs were alſo running about near the door;—and the neighbouring ſea is, at all times made tributary to the board. Several hundreds of negroes employed at work, or moving from place to place, improved the variety of the ſcene; while they added eſſentially to the value of the home—for, like the

cattle, theſe are always included in calculating the ſtock of the eſtate. Together with the multitude of domeſtic productions at this all-ſupplying abode were likewiſe ſome of the more rare and curious ſpecimens—ſuch as the ſmall lion,—monkey—and the large powys, or wild turkey of the woods; alſo the trumpeter, the fly-catcher, and ſeveral other uncommon birds. Our walk was highly gratifying, and offered much to excite, as well as to intereſt our contemplations. We extended it to the ſea beach, and found the ſand flat and firm as a bowling-green, and of a dark brown colour, whence it was neither liable to be blown into the eyes, nor to offend them by its brightneſs. A cool and conſtant ſea-breeze adds to the many advantages of this ſituation: it is always free and pure, there being nothing to impede or contaminate it between the houſe and the ocean. After it grew dark a rubber was propoſed as the amuſement of the evening—but cards had no power to attract the majority of us from the *dear* unfiniſhed Times and Chronicle. We ſlept in hammocks according to the common mode of the country, and a moſt excellent and convenient mode it is, for a very large party may be thus accommodated

in a ſmall houſe; it being only neceſſary to hang up as many hammocks as there are perſons. Neither beds, ſheets, nor blankets are required, for the hammock includes them all, and ſerves as bedſtead, mattreſs, and coverlet into the bargain.

The next morning I roſe at an early hour, and made a walk before breakfaſt, to viſit what is here termed the "yaw-houſe;" a kind of hoſpital placed at a diſtance from all the other buildings, for the accommodation of ſuch of the negroes as may be afflicted with that hideous and diſtreſſing malady—the yaws. Here I ſaw ſome of the moſt ſtriking pictures of human miſery that ever met my eye—ſad objects of compaſſion, and diſguſt! Not to commiſerate their ſufferings were impoſſible, but their offenſive and wretched appearance creates a ſenſe of horror on beholding them. Of all the unſightly diſeaſes which the human body is heir to, this is perhaps the worſt. Imagine to yourſelf a group of meager ſickly-looking negroes, with their bones almoſt piercing their unhealthy obfuſcate ſkins, and their bodies beſet with ragged noxious ſores, and ulcerous excreſcences; and you will have ſome idea

of the miserable inhabitants of ..... a yaw house. Congregated disease, crowded suffering, and accumulated wretchedness are spectacles common to the eyes of medical men; and I may add that they have been long familiar to mine! Yet the effect of this scene was too impressive ever to be effaced from the eye of my mind. Some of these diseased and truly pitiable objects were crouching upon their haunches round a smoky fire, some stood trembling on their sadly ulcerated limbs, others, supporting themselves by a large stick, were dragging their wretched bodies from place to place; while many, too feeble to rise, lay shivering with pain and torture upon the bare boards of a wooden platform.

Unhappily for our species, this most odious distemper is contagious, and readily communicated from one person to another; nor has it hitherto been found to be within the power of medicine. It often exists for years, and even where it sooner yields, its removal is more the effect of time and regimen than of medical treatment.

When a negro is attacked with this cruel

diſorder, he is ſeparated from his fellow-ſlaves, and ſent to the yaw-houſe to remain until he recovers. Commonly it is ſix, and often twelve months, or even more, before he is again fit to return amidſt the gang. An improved diet, with cleanlineſs, pure air, and ſea bathing are moſt conducive to his recovery; whence it may be inferred that filthineſs, and poverty of food, are among the occaſional cauſes of the diſeaſe. From its reſemblance to an afflicting malady, but two well known in Europe, mercury has been much employed as a remedy, but, unfortunately, with very little ſucceſs.

I may here announce to you that another excurſion of a more extenſive nature has been projected, for the purpoſe of viſiting the planters' eſtates in the remoteſt parts of the colony; and of proceeding up the river even beyond the fartheſt ſettlement of the coloniſts, in order to ſee the Indians in their native dwellings amidſt the deep woods. The governor and ſeveral other gentlemen reſiding near the town have been conſulted as to the facilities of ſuch an expedition; but the opinions collected are diſcordant and unſatisfac-

tory—ſome conceiving that it might be effected without difficulty—ſome conſidering it as perilous and quixotic, and others repreſenting it as wholly impracticable: but we find that it is extremely difficult to obtain any accurate information upon the ſubject, there being very few perſons in the colony who have intereſted themſelves regarding either the remote parts of the ſettlement, or the actual ſtate and habits of the people whoſe territory they have invaded, and who have been driven from the very ſoil on which they are now acquiring their riches: hence, if undertaken, it muſt be entirely a marooning excurſion, the party making a home wherever it can be found, proceeding while it can be made pleaſant, and returning when it becomes diſagreeable. Under all circumſtances if it takes place, I ſhall endeavour to be one of the party—and, need I remark to you that, I ſhall not be the firſt who will propoſe to return. If we go—my pocket ink-caſe ſhall be my travelling companion, and in noting obſervance, I will think toward you from the wildeſt depths of the foreſt.

LETTER XXVII.

Indolence and visionary difficulties often the bane of our gratification. Author engages with a party in a marooning excursion up the river Berbische. No fixed plan, but the journey regulated by the information and treatment met with en route. Difficulties and obstacles suggested by gentlemen of the colony. Ignorance of the Dutch language the greatest impediment. Stores and necessary resources collected in the boat. Departure from New Amsterdam. Mode of completing the boat's crew a little unwarrantable. Plantation Het Pleytanker the first place of call. The party well received by Mr. Deen. Meet Mynheer Abbensets. Proceed with him to Essendam to pass the night. Friendly attention of Mynheer Wohler a Hanoverian surgeon. Author and Mynheer Wohler make a promenade round the plantations Essendam, and San Souci.

Berbische, June 28.

How true it is, my friend, that where inclination leads, difficulties are easily subdued! After the many apprehensions expressed, and the various interruptions and difficulties enumerated, we have performed our contemplated expedition, without encountering a single impediment which was not readily overcome. This confirms to me the opinion that most of the obstacles, opposed to our minor pursuits,

and even of the mighty obſtructions placed in the more important path of life exiſt only in imagination. In far the majority of inſtances diſcretion and prudent perſeverance might ſurmount them, but where exertion is required, we are too indolent to remove the oppoſing forms which fancy has created. Terrified, or too implicitly yielding to viſionary impoſſibilities, torpid inaction examines not whether they are phantoms or realities, and we forego the advantages of the purſuit, from a diſinclination to uſe the efforts that may be required in its execution.

In the preſent inſtance, had we liſtened to the timid counſel of thoſe whom fancied difficulties had deterred from engaging in it themſelves, we had neglected making an excurſion which has afforded us infinite gratification.

But, to our ſubject. Soon after our viſit at Mr. Blair's, our party was formed, and we ſet off *en quartette*, Captain de Courcy, Captain Webb, Lieutenant Mackie, and myſelf, on our fondly anticipated journey. We had a four-oared boat from the fort, with an awning built over the part where we ſat, which not only

protected us from the ſun, but alſo, by means of a door and windows, encloſed us as it were in a cabin. Sufficient intelligence could not be collected to enable us to fix either the limits of our excurſion, or the period of our return. We, had, therefore, no ſettled route, and our movements were to be forward or retrograde, as we found that pleaſure or diſcomfort attended our path. It was completely a *marooning* or rambling adventure. Placed at the diſpoſal of the blind goddeſs, we reſerved to ourſelves only the power of retreating, in caſe ſhe ſhould uſe us unkindly. Where to find food, or where take reſt depended entirely upon chance. Every planter, and every eſtate were alike unknown to us: but we knew that there were plantations, and places of abode, upon the borders of the river: we knew, alſo, that in all civilized countries, where ſtrangers are but ſeldom ſeen, hoſpitality is a prevailing characteriſtic of the inhabitants; we, therefore, became intruders upon the good-will of the coloniſts, reſolving to ſeek a home whereſoever our convenience ſhould point, and to regulate our journey by the information we ſhould acquire, and the treatment we might experience. If the excurſion ſhould turn out

pleaſant and intereſting, we might purſue it to the extent of nearly two hundred miles up the river. If on the other hand we ſhould find it perplexing and inconvenient we were to return after the firſt or ſecond day—thus governing ourſelves wholly by events.

Among the obſtacles ſaid to preſent themſelves, was that of it being a bad period of the year; and it was ſuggeſted that from the heavy rains of the wet ſeaſon, the river would be ſwelled, and the current ſo rapid, that the negroes would not be able to row againſt the ſtream. Upon this account it was contended that we could journey only a very ſhort diſtance each day, and not even that without great labour and fatigue to the ſlaves. Had we not received other more happy reports, this would have deterred us from the undertaking. It certainly was a circumſtance that merited conſideration, and we found in it an additional reaſon for avoiding every thing like a ſettled plan. The opportunity muſt always preſent itſelf of learning at one eſtate how far diſtant we were from others, and we ſhould then have the power of judging by the tide, and by the labour required, at which to pauſe:

and, at worſt, ſhould night chance to overtake us, when no plantation was nigh, we ſhould always have the remedy of tying the boat to a tree or a buſh at the ſide of the river, and letting the negroes reſt until morning.

The only real difficulty that ſeemed to preſent itſelf was our ignorance of the Dutch language. It happened that I was the only one of the party who had any knowledge of it, and there was much cauſe to doubt, whether I might be ſufficiently converſant with it to make myſelf underſtood. However, by a little Dutch, a little French, and a little Engliſh we truſted we might make our way. It being probable that we ſhould be many days on our excurſion, we eſtabliſhed a certain routine of duty, ſuch as directing the ſlaves, preſenting the party to ſtrangers, making the neceſſary arrangements, &c.; and agreed that each ſhould take it by turn to be "orderly" for the day, thus forming a ſort of military *fatigue duty*, which was to fall upon each in rotation, according to a ſettled muſter.

To provide for ourſelves the comforts, or even the neceſſaries of the journey, was not in

our power. Our whole list of stores consisted of a cold ham and some bread, with a supply of plantains for the negroes, some wine and Hollands, a few bottles of water, and our hammocks.

The sides of the river being, for the most part, very flat and low, and entirely covered with thick woods, we were sensible that the views could not be sufficiently varied at all times to amuse the eye and the mind, or to prevent the fatigue which must necessarily arise from sitting many hours each day in the boat; we therefore took with us some books and a pack of cards, as occasional resources to divert us from the continued sameness of the scene.

Thus equipped, we embarked on the morning of Wednesday June 15, from the town of New Amsterdam. Unfortunately on proceeding to the boat, we found only four negroes on board, and without a fifth, to act as timoneer, we must either have suffered the inconvenience of losing the use of an oar by putting one of the four slaves to the helm, or we must have been subjected to the annoy-

ance of being always expoſed to the rain or the ſun, by taking the ſteering duty ourſelves. In this dilemma, I bluſh to ſay that a remedy was found in the expedient of half-ſeducing, and half-preſſing into our ſervice a negro who was ſtanding in idleneſs at the landing place. Our crew being thus completed, we ordered the moſt intelligent of the fort negroes to aſſume the poſt of cockſwain, and putting the others to the oars, took our departure without having decided where to make even our firſt place of call. Rich eſtates, commodious houſes, and hoſpitable planters, were not deficient about this part of the river; and as we had adopted the principle of ſeeking a home, whereſoever we ſhould find it moſt convenient, we reſigned ourſelves without heſitation to the diſcretion of the ſlaves, deſiring them to make a port whenever they might feel themſelves fatigued, or ſhould find the tide impede their progreſs. It happened that they took us on ſhore, about two o'clock, at a plantation called "Het Pleytanker." We advanced to the houſe *ſans ceremonie*, and introduced ourſelves by obſerving that we were engaged in an excurſion up the river, and had put in for the purpoſe of reſting the ſlaves; and of learning

where we might conveniently take up our quarters for the night. We were received with great hoſpitality by M. Deen, the manager, who inſiſted upon our taking dinner before we proceeded further. At table we met a Dutch gentleman, named Abbenſets, who, on learning the nature of our expedition, very cordially invited us to accompany him to the plantation "Eſſendam," where he was pleaſed to ſay he ſhould be happy to accommodate us not only for the night, but for the morrow, and as long as we could make it convenient to give him our company. We hailed this as a fortunate rencontre, not merely on account of being provided with a home for the firſt night, but as it augured favorably reſpecting the hoſpitality we might require at the various plantations in the courſe of our journey.—We partook of a very good dinner at Het Pleytanker, and, ſoon afterwards, availing ourſelves of the tide, accompanied M. Abbenſets to Eſſendam, which we found to be one of the richeſt coffee plantations of the colony. The houſe beſpeaks the value of the eſtate, being a ſpacious building, and ſuperior to any we had ſeen in Berbiſche, except the governor's manſion. Nothing could exceed the kind liberality

of M. Abbenſets. He entertained us with all the cordiality of a friend, and we lamented that from ſpeaking a different language, we were deprived of the full enjoyment of his ſociety. M. Abbenſets knew only his native tongue, therefore, in converſing with him, we were obliged to ſpeak in French through the medium of a Mynheer Wohler, a Hanoverian ſurgeon, to whom we were preſented on our arrival at Eſſendam, and who, very obligingly, undertook the office of interpreter to both parties. On account of my being a medical man, and having ſome little knowledge of the Dutch language, M. Wohler addreſſed himſelf moſtly to me in converſation: and, as a profeſſional brother, I was likewiſe honored with further attentions, and invited to accompany him in a ride round the eſtate; for which purpoſe he ordered a very excellent horſe to be ſaddled and brought to the door; accordingly, leaving the other gentlemen to converſe by ſigns with M. Abbenſets, we made the tour, not only of Eſſendam, but alſo of *Sans Souci*, the adjoining plantation under the management of M. J. Abbenſets, nephew of Mynheer Abbenſets of Eſſendam. Green paths, bordered with luxuriant fruit trees, traverſe theſe eſtates at various parts,

and, together with forming pleaſant rides, give a general air of neatneſs, and add to the richneſs conveyed by the fertile coffee buſhes which ſpread the fields.

On our arrival at Eſſendam we were ſerved with tea and coffee, and at nine o'clock was ſet before us a handſome ſupper of ſoup, fowls, omlet, and many other good things. Madeira and claret were amply ſupplied, alſo Hollands, bottled ſmall beer and porter. At eleven we went to our hammocks, congratulating each other on the ſucceſs of our firſt day's adventure.

Our intruſions were not barely permitted, but we were received and treated with the moſt unaffected hoſpitality, and in the kind attentions of thoſe we viſited we could diſcover that genuine welcome, which ſeeks to make the ſtranger feel that in giving his company an obligation is conferred—not received.

Author and his comrades leave Essendam. Generous and friendly hospitality of Mynheer Abbensets. The party obtain much useful information from Mynheer Schneider respecting their journey. Mynheer Abbensets and Mynheer Schneider contribute additional supplies to the boat. A long journey to the estate Vigilantie. Heavy toil for the slaves. They stop occasionally and plunge into the river to refresh themselves. A friendly welcome by Mynheer Malsted. Author visits the negro yard at Vigilantie. Is presented by a negro to his sister. An example of the effect of slavery. A singular mode of punishment. The party leave Vigilantie — arrive at the old town of Amsterdam. Visit Mynheer — le vieu Fiscal, and Mynheer Scholten. Le vieu Fiscal converses in Latin — professes great esteem for the English — is violently inimical to the Stadtholder.

Berbische.

WE left Essendam early the following morning, but not without receiving many new proofs of the friendly hospitality of Mynheer Abbensets, who kindly entreated us to lengthen our present visit, and invited us to make his house our home, and remain longer with him on our return. In all the generosity of his character he ordered some bottles of wine, and a store

of provifions to be put into the boat for our ufe, en route; and, likewife, fupplied the negroes with an additional ftock of Hollands and of plantains. It was between eight and nine o'clock when we left this generous ftranger. According to the Dutch cuftom, coffee had been ferved to us as foon as we rofe from our hammocks, but we referved ourfelves for a more folid breakfaft at our next place of call.

This was at one of the fugar plantations of Mr. Blair, on the borders of the river, nearly oppofite to Effendam. Here again warm greetings met us at the landing place. M. Schneider, who has the management of the eftate, received us with a moft friendly welcome; and a breakfaft of fowls, eggs, and other folids was, prefently, fet before us. We found M. Schneider a very intelligent man, and acquired more information from him refpecting our journey than from any perfon we had feen. He had already made the excurfion we were engaged in, and to a far greater extent than we could poffibly have it in our power to follow him, he having proceeded to the diftance of eight hundred miles up the river. But he was equipped for the purpofe, and attended by a

party of Indians as conductors, and a young Indian girl, who had resided among the colonists, as interpreter.

The tide serving for us to proceed, we were compelled to make our visit at M. Schneider's much shorter than we could have wished; we therefore had barely time to take our breakfast, and accompany the intelligent manager in a short walk about the plantation, in order to see the sugar works, some fine trees of the mango, and a young plantation of the bread fruit. At 10 o'clock we resumed our seats in the boat when M. Schneider kindly desired to contribute to our store some bread, and some rum. We also discovered that he had sent on board, without our knowledge, half a dozen bottles of very fine porter, of which he had observed us to partake, with great enjoyment, at our second breakfast. Instructed by M. Schneider, we were to make our next home at the estate Vigilantie, where we arrived at 7 o'clock in the evening. This was a severe day for our slaves. Indeed they were exposed to far more of labour and exertion than we should have required of them, but from their own consent to the proposal of M.

Schneider; who, aſſuring us that they were fully competent to the journey, aſked them if they could row to Vigilantie that evening? They replied in the affirmative, and cheerfully executed the taſk, arriving in high ſpirits, and ſmiling when we aſked them if they were not ſadly tired. But we had not felt at eaſe regarding them, throughout the day's journey; for, except the ſhort time we remained with M. Schneider, we were in the boat from half-paſt eight in the morning until ſeven in the evening. That even negroes could ſupport ſo many hours of heavy and inceſſant labour in ſuch a climate was paſt our conjecture. The only relief they required was to reſt, occaſionally for a few minutes, upon their oars; at which intervals, although extremely heated, and bathed in perſpiration, they had no ſooner ſtopped, than they plunged from the ſide of the boat into the river, and ſwam about in order to cool themſelves, and drive away fatigue. Hazardous as this might ſeem, they did not ſuffer the ſlighteſt inconvenience from it, but returned to their oars with new ſpirit and vigour, feeling more refreſhed, and more delighted with their bathing than with their food,

or even their beloved grog, which we gave them in very plentiful ſupply.

The borders of the river offered but little to arreſt our attention or to gratify our curioſity, we therefore engaged in a rubber at whiſt, which we contrived to play upon a board placed, from window to window, acroſs the encloſed part of the boat. But for this reſource and our books we ſhould have ſuffered more fatigue from our tedious and weariſome confinement, in the boat, than the negroes did from the heavier labour of pulling the oars.

We were received with great kindneſs, and entertained with much cordiality, by M. Malſted, but unluckily no perſon at Vigilantie underſtood any other than the Dutch language; our converſation was therefore very limited, being carried on only by ſigns and broken words. The taſk of interpreter fell to the lot of your friend, and you would have been highly diverted could you have ſeen me occupied throughout the evening in ſtammering forth a few words of bad Dutch to ſerve all purpoſes and explain for all parties.

Defirous to know the mode of life, and to obferve the habitations of the flaves, as well as of their mafters, I did not neglect to make vifits to the different negro yards at our various places of call. Purfuant to this cuftom, foon after my arrival at Vigilantie, I took with me one of the houfe negroes, as conductor, and went to view the huts of the flaves. In one of them my ebon guide, with great form, begged to introduce me to a very fine negrefs, who he faid was his fifter. I dare not tell you what foft overtures were made by this young lady, on my having the honor of being prefented to her. The tender belles of your London lobbies could not have ogled in graces more intelligible. To convey hints of kind accommodation, feemed indeed equally the object of brother and fifter. I mention this fact only to fhew to you in what light proftitution is viewed by flaves—the brother would feel honored in placing the pillow for his fifter on a *Backra* man's bed!

In my walk to the negro yard I met a flave who appeared under a peculiar mode of punifhment, being compelled to wear an iron-

collar with three long ſpikes of iron projecting from it, in ſharpened points, to the diſtance of eight or ten inches from his perſon. What crime had led to this ſtrange method of puniſhment I did not learn. The poor man not only ſuffered the annoyance of moving about, loaded with this heavy collar, but he was effectually prevented from lying down, and from approaching near to any perſon without the danger of injuring him with the ſharp points of his iron yoke.

The houſe at Vigilantie was very inferior to that at Eſſendam, but we found in it good fare, and an honeſt welcome. Fowls, milk, rice, eggs and the like, were ſet before us for ſupper and we had afterwards ſome very fine Hollands; but as my bad Dutch gave no charms to converſation, we retired at an early hour to our hammocks.

The following day was far leſs fatiguing to us;—although equally buſy it was broken into more varied ſucceſſion. We went into the boat between three and four o'clock in the morning, in order to avail ourſelves of the

early tide, ſo as to reach the old town of Amſterdam before breakfaſt.—We accordingly arrived at ſeven, in time to take coffee with Mynheer — le vieu fiſcal, with whom we afterwards ſhared a more ſolid breakfaſt à la Hollandoiſe. Our viſit was divided between *the fiſcal*, and *the doctor*, (M. Scholten,) both of whom received us with great urbanity, and invited us to prolong our ſtay at the old town.

The fiſcal is 61 years of age, and although his youthful days are paſt, he is ſtill active and alert. He walked with us to M. Scholten's, and the different parts of the town, during the morning, and was very attentive and facetious, meaning to be good company— but ſadly fatigued us with an inceſſant flow of ſenile garrulity. He knew but little French, and although more fluent in Latin, it was neither claſſical, nor always intelligible. At dinner he took his glaſs rather freely, as we afterwards learned was his too common cuſtom. He now became officious and troubleſome in his attentions, and at length grew unpleaſant and querulous. He profeſſed a high

esteem for the English, and his civilities to us had seemed in unison with his professions. He drank bumpers to "Geo. III. and old England," but on the health of the Stadtholder being given, as we had intended in complimentary return, the mask at once fell off, and exposed him in the full character of a modern leveller. He raved and swore, called himself a patriot, and declared that he was the *firm friend* of Holland—adding, "*I hope again to see Batavia a great nation, for England has not yet conquered all the world!*" But still, in loud raving, and with strange inconsistency, the poor old man would drown himself in bumpers to George III.!—It availed nothing telling him that His Majesty and the Stadtholder were friends: he would get drunk, and sober himself again, drinking to the king of England—but nothing, he persisted, should ever compel him to swallow a drop to the health of the prince of Orange. His nephew, who was present, was very much distressed, and, begging us to accept apologies from him, entreated that we would pardon the conduct of his uncle, which he attributed to the kingly bumpers he had taken. We could only regard his effusions as the

harmless ravings of imbecility, which but served to verify the common adage:—before dinner his sentiments were disguised: wine tore away the veil, and in deep drinking, the intemperate old man again became a child, was unguarded, and ....*spake the truth!*

Mynheer Scholten chirurgien-major to the Dutch troops, Madame Scholten witty and facetious. Author reserves a specimen of humour to relate to his friend on his return to England. Old town of Amsterdam. A party of Indians. A party of manumitted Negroes. Profession of surgeon-barber not extinct in the Dutch colonies. Two of the author's comrades shaved by a chirurgo-tonsor, who supports a Latin conversation upon medical and other subjects during "the operation." The party meet Mynheer Fenner at Mynheer Scholten's. Accompany him to the estate Johanna. On arriving are presented to Madame Scholten and five other white ladies.—Good resemblance of an European garden, appearance of a gang of slaves ginning cotton by candle light.

Berbische.

MYNHEER SCHOLTEN, although not so advanced in life as the fiscal, has been many years in the colony, busily employed in the practice of medicine, and acting as chirurgien-major to

the troops. He has one of the beſt houſes in the old town, and all about it wears a degree of order, beſpeaking much of eaſe and independence. Madame Scholten appeared to be a facetious pleaſant woman. We took tea with her after leaving the angry *vieu* fiſcal. She converſed in good French, and ſeemed inclined to wit and humour. I have ſtored for you ſome notes upon this viſit, and upon a Dutch lady's preſcription for a gentleman on obſerving him bend his eye towards a fine mulatto girl, which may ſome day afford you amuſement. M. Scholten is about to remove from the old town down to New Amſterdam, ſo that we have a proſpect of ſeeing this family added to the ſociety near the fort, which, in this thinly inhabited ſettlement, will be a great acquiſition.

Old Amſterdam, as a town, has little more to recommend it, than New Amſterdam, which is only now growing into exiſtence: and the latter, with regard to commerce, has every advantage of ſituation;—while the former, although many years eſtabliſhed, has no ſuperiority to claim from regular ſtreets, handſome houſes, churches or other public

edifices. We were indeed conducted to one large building, but it was more commodious for its purpofe, as a ftrong built ftore-houfe, than it was ornamental or fplendid. It was erected at great expence by the Dutch government, as a general depôt of ftores,—only a few years before it was determined to abandon the old town; and by this event it is rendered, in a great degree, ufelefs.

In our walk about the ftreets we met with a houfe inhabited only by Indians—alfo one poffeffed by a party of manumitted negro women. Curiofity led us into both—the latter appeared the cleaneft and beft ordered abode. In the former, the family were lying or fitting about in liftlefs indifference heedlefs of paffing events and occurrences. We purchafed from them fome bows and arrows, and other fpecimens of Indian workmanfhip. Among the group we remarked a half-naked female, whofe face and form were very beautiful; and whofe fine long jet-black hair exhibited the interefting peculiarity of gently waving from the lank unyielding ftraightnefs fo univerfally obferved in the fable treffes of the natives of this coaft.

On preparing our persons for dinner at the vieu fiscal's, we had an opportunity of remarking that the old professional association of surgeon and barber so long practised in England was not grown obsolete among the Dutch. One of our party, in the indolence of the moment, wishing to avoid the trouble of unbarbing his own chin, sent into the town for a person to shave him. Quickly appeared the hospital-surgeon, equipped with a set of chirurgical instruments and tonsoric apparatus. He bowed most respectfully, and not ungracefully, on entering the room, demanding in Latin, which of us it was, who required to undergo the *operation*. Struck with his address and the formidable appearance of his case of instruments, we imagined that the slave who had been sent to fetch *the barber* had committed some mistake: but, on asking the question, our hero of the brush instantly replied— "*Non, domini! Sum chirurgo-tonsor!*" then, displaying his razor and bason, assured us that he was more attached to the *operative*, than to the other branches of his profession. Without further hesitation, therefore, two brave officers submitted to be taken by the nose, and underwent *the operation*, with much

eaſe and pleaſantneſs, from the dextrous hand of Mynheer the *chirurgo-tonſor;* who, during the whole proceſs, converſed fluently in Latin, upon medical and various other ſubjects.. His education had been liberal, and he was not devoid of information, either literary, or medical: yet, from cuſtom, he did not ſeem to feel any ſenſe of humiliation in ſtooping to the menial office of ſcraping another man's chin!—Such is the force of habit! What would our Engliſh knights of the ſcalpel ſay were they called upon, in theſe enlightened days, to *ſhave* even the moſt dignified of his majeſty's ſubjects?

It was within our plan as recommended by M. Malſted, after paſſing the day at Old Amſterdam, to proceed with the evening tide to the eſtate Johanna. We therefore held it a fortunate circumſtance that we met with M. Fenner, at M. Scholten's, who was from that eſtate, and who very kindly deſired to be our conductor to his home, an offer which we moſt gladly accepted. We dined at three o'clock at the old fiſcal's, drank tea a little after four at M. Scholten's; and by five were in the boat on our way to Johanna,—where we

arrived between ſix and ſeven. Upon entering the houſe we were preſented to a party of ſix white females, Mrs. Fenner and five of her friends. Such an aſſemblage of backra ladies we had not met ſince our arrival in South America: but, unhappily, only the Dutch language was known to them, which prevented us from the full enjoyment of their ſociety. Johanna alſo afforded other marks of European reſemblance, which are not common in the colonies, ſuch as an excellent garden laid out and cultivated very much à l'Anglaiſe; and in the fields a numerous herd of cows and oxen. In the garden we ſaw aſparagus, artichokes, turnips, cucumbers, carrots, French beans, cabbages, and other European vegetables growing in all the health and vigour of a more temperate climate. The various tropical productions were likewiſe abundant. Some of the walks were bordered with the fragrant lime, others were ſhaded with the grateful water-lemon, or the grenadillo; and a general neatneſs, with an unuſual freedom from weeds prevailed throughout. On inquiry we learned that this well-managed and productive garden was cultivated wholly by two induſtrious ſlaves, each having only one arm, and hence

Mr. Fenner wittily obferved that the labour of one negro effected it all. This was an uncommon example of induftry in flaves, for fo luxuriant are the weeds and fo rapid the vegetation in this climate, that it is always difficult to maintain a garden in, even, tolerable neatnefs of appearance: but, here, two fingle arms fubdued the obtrufive weeds, and kept the garden in far better order than many others we had feen, upon which the time and labour of three or four robuft flaves were conftantly expended.

In the courfe of the evening we were conducted to the logis to fee the flaves engaged at their employment of ginning cotton. The building was very extenfive, and we were led by way of a gloomy ftaircafe to the upper ftory, where the blacks were all employed in one deep room which ran through the whole length of the logis, and which from the fcene fuddenly breaking upon us, created ftrong ideas of the regions of old Pluto. The ftairs opened at one end of the long building, and the eye at once looked down an immeafurable depth of glimmering darknefs, through

which was obſcurely ſeen a multitude of naked black beings; either at reſt or ſkipping about from place to place, without our being able to diſtinguiſh what they were doing or how employed. As we approached nearer to them, we found them to be a gang of negroes, old and young, robuſt and feeble, male and female, all buſily and variouſly occupied in preparing cotton, by the aid of one faint light, ſuſpended in the centre of what ſeemed an interminable darkneſs. Some were ſitting on the floor; ſome at the ginning wheels; ſome were crouched upon their haunches; others ſtanding, and many moving about, each according to the varied employment of ginning, of beating and pulling, of fetching and carrying, or of packing the cotton. Still we ſaw none diſtinctly, not even thoſe immediately near to us; and the unuſual noiſe, the various movements of the negroes, the general confuſion of the ſcene, and the fathomleſs darkneſs of the place, ſo powerfully called to mind the diſmal regions of queen Proſerpine and her grim lord, that we could not diveſt ourſelves of the impreſſion: amidſt ſome faint rays of light, impenetrable obſcu-

rity, alſo beings black and hideous were before us, and we could not but aſſociate reality with the picture.

At ſupper-time the uſual hoſpitality of the colony was diſplayed, and a generous plenty crowned the board. A party of thirteen took their ſeats at table; where a lively feſtivity prevailed, and it was not until a late hour that the ladies left us and we retired to our hammocks. During the evening Mr. Fenner very obligingly planned an improved variety in our mode of travelling for the next day, by pointing out to us a new road, and providing us with all the requiſite means for the journey.

The party adopt a new mode of travelling suggested by Mynheer Fenner. A Dutch mountain. Alarm excited by the author and his comrades respecting the Bush Negroes in the woods. A West India ride across the forest and wild savannas. European scene on approaching the estate Arends. Fragrant path leading to the house. The party meet a polite reception from Mynheer Pauels: dine at Arends: proceed in the evening to Myhneer Heynemann's accompanied by Mynheer Pauels and Mynheer Fenner. Visit a Dutch military post at an angle of the river near Arends. Mynheer Heynemann's household.

Berbische.

WE rose at seven o'clock. Coffee was brought to us on quitting our hammocks, and at nine was set before us a more substantial repast. Soon afterwards we made our congé to the ladies, and took our departure from Johanna. We crossed the river in a boat belonging to M. Fenner, the negroes having been sent on with ours early in the morning. To our surprise, on reaching the opposite bank, we had to ascend a hill, which to a Dutchman might have seemed a mountain; and on arriving at the summit of this elevated shore we found slaves and horses, equal in

number to our party, in readineſs to conduct us to Arends, the home of Mynheer Paüels. The diſtance was much ſhorter by land than by water: our negroes, therefore, were ſent round with the boat, by way of the river, in order to meet us in the evening; while we proceeded, on horſeback, acroſs the woods, and ſavannas. This change not only afforded us a pleaſant variety in our mode of travelling, but relieved us from a tedious and uninteresting journey in the boat. The firſt part of our ride was acroſs a wide plain bordered with heavy foreſts, and exhibiting all the rudeneſs of primitive nature: next we traverſed the deep woods, by way of a narrow path, following each other, ſingly, in true Indian file: then we eſcaped, again, into an open and wild ſavanna, more varied and intereſting than any uncultivated ſpot we had ſeen in the colony. As we were trotting behind each other through the ſtill ſhades of the foreſt, we perceived that the notes of our converſation became unuſually ſoft, and rumbled in gentle murmurs amongſt the trees. Struck with this unexpected charm of our voices we were induced to ſound the huntſman's call, and the halloo! of the chace, in order to obſerve the ſweet-

ness of the echo. But we quickly discovered that, however musical and delighting in the domestic copses of England, these were calls of danger in the deep and wild woods of Guiana! Our friendly conductor, Mr. Fenner, instantly took alarm, and begging us to desist, desired that we would trot on, and be still, lest we should bring down the Bush-negroes to our path; who, if they should find themselves able to overpower us, would certainly take off our scalps, and perhaps not leave us our heads!—Need I say that we obeyed, and rode on in silence?

The accommodations of this day's journey were quite West Indian, each had a slave running at his horse's side, or holding at his tail; and each slave was loaded either with a trunk of clothes upon his head, or a bottle of Madeira wine, of rum, or of water in his hand. Imagine to yourself the picture of a party of *Europeans* riding through the wild woods and savannas of *South America*, with a body of *African* slaves running at their sides, carrying bottles in their hands, and trunks on their heads, and you will have a correct idea of our travelling group. The negroes kept

pace with us throughout the whole of the journey, and were not only at hand to give us drink on the road, but were likewise in readiness to supply us with dry clothes on our arrival.

At the distance of about nine miles from Johanna, the estate Arends suddenly opened to our view, and the scene before the eye became unusually varied and European. It, in some degree, reminded us of old England—a circumstance which gave it additional interest, and led us to contemplate it with a kind of filial respect. Looking down from high land we saw, below us, a rich plantation of coffee, cotton, and cocoa, together with the house and home of M. Pauels. On descending from the rude plain to this finely cultured estate, our road was continued along a fragrant path bordered with rows of oranges and pines, which lead across the plantation up to the house.

Our reception at Arends was friendly and cordial. We found M. Pauels to be a man of liberal education, and of refined manners. The house and environs, indeed the whole

order of the home, no leſs than his perſonal addreſs, indicated an improved and cultivated mind. Our viſit at Arends was ſhorter than we could have wiſhed. 'We took dinner with M. Paüels, and paſſed a few hours ſo pleaſantly as to regret that they could not be tenfold multiplied.' But, as we were anxious to reach the utmoſt extent of our journey, and as the afternoon tide ſerved for us to proceed, it was deemed expedient not to delay; and the more ſo, as quitting Arends would not deprive us of the ſociety of M. Paüels, that gentleman and M. Fenner having promiſed to accompany us throughout the next ſtage of our journey. Accordingly in the evening, M. Paüels, with his own boat and ſlaves, undertook to conduct the party to M. Heynemann's, the remoteſt European ſettlement of the colony. We embarked from Arends on a ſmall river or creek,—which, at a ſhort diſtance from M. Paüels', falls into the great river Berbiſche. On the point of land, at the angle formed by the two ſtreams, is a ſmall battery, and an old eſtabliſhed military poſt, which is ſtill kept up by a Dutch guard, or at leaſt the ſemblance of it, formed of a few antiquated invalids. We called to requeſt of them to tell the negroes

who were about to paſs with our boat, that we were gone from Arends; and to direct them to follow us to M. Heynemann's. The guard conſiſted of about thirty of the old Dutch ſoldiers: nearly the whole of whom were in a ſtate of intoxication, and not a man at his poſt. You will believe that it was not a ſtation of high importance. Indeed, on account of its diſtance from the coaſt, it ſeemed only calculated to overawe the negroes, and the Indians of the vicinity, or to afford a ſort of proviſion for a few of the ſoldiers who had been worn out in the ſervice. While on ſhore at this point of land, we ſaw an old Dutch gentleman, a reſident at the battery, who had enjoyed ſeventy-ſix years of life, and was ſtill humorous and ſprightly as in his youth. He expreſſed himſelf delighted to ſee a party of Britiſh officers, and deſired we might be told, that although he could not talk our language, he could eat and drink with us very heartily, if we would favor him with our company, and ſtay to partake of his meal.

The journey from the fort to M. Heynemann's afforded nothing of intereſt or variety. The ſcenery was a dull ſameneſs of river and

forest: wood and water overspread by heaven's wide canopy, were all that met the eye. We were two hours and a half in the boat, and arrived at M. Heynemann's just as it was growing dark: thus completing the journey, from the sugar plantation of Mr. Blair, in three days; although we had been told at the town that we could not perform it in less than ten. Moreover we had effected it with the greatest ease, notwithstanding our having been assured, by several persons, that such a journey could not be executed, especially in the wet season, without infinite difficulty and fatigue, even if at all. We felt it singularly fortunate that Mr. Fenner was of our party to M. Heynemann's, the latter gentleman not speaking any language but his native Dutch, and it being from him that we expected to acquire a great fund of information; as well regarding the customs and manners of the Indians, as respecting the country and its natural productions. He had been chosen king, or captain of a band of Indians, and having resided for many years among them, was better acquainted with their habits and pursuits than any other person in the colony. To him they brought frequent presents of what they esteem-

ed rare or curious, and it had been intimated to us that he had accumulated an extensive collection of specimens in natural history—also of Indian implements and apparatus. We found a number of Indian men and women, living in the house with this king of the district. He had also a gang of negro slaves; so that the household consisted of a medley of white, copper-coloured, and black inhabitants, who were assembled in this remote corner, from three different quarters of the globe, the group being composed of Europeans, Africans, and native Americans.

The day had been spent in busy occupation, we therefore went to our hammocks very soon after supper, in order to rest and recruit ourselves for the next day's fatigues.

Author obtains an early conversation with M. Heynemann. Examines his collection. Messrs. Heynemann, Pauels, and Fenner's plan, for the party, the remainder of the excursion. Interesting day at Mr. Heynemann's. Indians called Bucks—the women Buckeen. Common bow and arrow of the Indians. Their accuracy in using them. Fine attitude in pulling the bow. The poisoned arrow and its tube. Author and two of his comrades proceed to Savonette. One of the party suddenly afflicted with a malady which detains him at M. Heynemann's. Visit to an Indian hut at two o'clock in the morning. Indian method of sleeping. Surprize of Vandyke, an old Dutch soldier. His remark concerning the indisposition of an Indian wife. Night accommodation at Savonette.

Berbische.

UNWILLING to waste more of my time in sleep than was absolutely necessary, I rose at an earlier hour than my comrades, and had the opportunity of inspecting the whole of M. Heynemann's collection before breakfast; also of hearing his observations and remarks respecting the Indians, with whom he had long been in habits of intimate association. At breakfast Messrs. Fenner, Pauels, and Heynemann planned our journeying for the two or three succeeding days, informing us that we might

have an opportunity of ſeeing numbers of Indians in their native dwellings, in the environs of an old eſtate, called Savonette, about twenty miles higher up the river; and, remarking that according to the plan of our expedition, we ſhould be unable to proceed further with any proſpect of comfort or gratification. We could not oppoſe even a doubt to the opinions of theſe gentlemen; therefore, embracing their propoſal, we agreed to purſue our journey to Savonette with the evening tide, and after viſiting an Indian village, and the other curioſities of the ſpot, to return to M. Heynemann's.

The morning was pleaſantly ſpent in examining the collection of Indian curioſities, and of ſpecimens in natural hiſtory; but more eſpecially in hearing M. Heynemann relate his adventures among the Indians; whom he termed Bucks and Buckeen, theſe being the names commonly given to them in the colonies. We were alſo amuſed by ſeeing M. Heynemann and one of the Indians ſhoot with the common bow and arrow of the woods, and blow the poiſoned arrow at a mark from its tube. The accuracy of the Bucks, in

ſhooting with the long arrow, and in blowing the ſhort poiſoned one, was deſcribed to us as being minute to a wonder. The common arrow uſed in their wars, or for the purpoſe of killing game, is nearly ſix feet long, made of a peculiarly ſtraight and fine reed, without a knot or inequality in its whole length, and armed at the point with a piece of ſharpened bone, having a barb at one ſide. At the ſhaft it is furniſhed at each ſide with a piece of cut feather, in order to ſteady it in its flight. Sometimes a thin piece of hard wood, ſharpened at the point, and barbed with many notches, is faſtened to the reed, and forms the end of the arrow :—but thoſe who have mixed with the coloniſts, for the moſt part arm the arrow with a ſharp point of ſteel. The arrows uſed for ſtriking fiſh are forked, having three ſteel points, with a barb near the end of each, the middle point being conſiderably longer than the others. The bow is uſually two or three inches longer than the arrow, and when ſtrung, is not, at its greateſt curvature, bent more than an inch and half from the cord. Various kinds of wood are uſed for the bows, the moſt beautiful of which is called letter-wood, a name which it has obtained from its peculi-

arly marked appearance, being richly mottled, as if ſtained by art, and ſomewhat reſembling the ſkin of a ſnake. The ſtring is made of the ſilk-graſs, and is remarkably ſtrong. An Indian will hit a chicken with tolerable certainty, at nearly a hundred yards diſtance. He is very particular reſpecting his arrow, and examines it with great care, in order to aſcertain that it be perfectly ſtraight, before he attempts to uſe it. The attitude of a naked Indian in pulling his bow, is highly graceful, and exhibits the human figure to great advantage. I have ſometimes obſerved in it ſo ſtriking a diſplay of a well-made muſcular form, that I have fancied I could have felt a regret had the nakedneſs been concealed under which it was preſented.

The arrow which they are in the habit of poiſoning is made of a light hard wood. It is about ten or twelve inches long, and of the thickneſs of an oat ſtraw. It is blunt at one end, and cut to a ſharp point at the other, the pointed end being dipped in the poiſon. The manner of uſing it is by blowing it from a cylindrical tube, about ſeven feet in length. A bit of cotton is lightly put in at

one end of the tube, the arrow is dropped in at the other end, and falls to the cotton; the lips are then applied, and the arrow is forced forward by a ſudden puff, or *coup* of the breath, and is thus ſhot to the diſtance of eight or ten yards with ſurprizing accuracy. So expert are ſome of the Bucks in the uſe of this tube, that at twelve or fourteen feet, they will almoſt to a certainty ſtrike the arrow upon the edge of a penknife ſtuck on the back of a chair. The tube is made of a ſpecies of reed, and they are very careful in preſerving it. Indeed from the difficulty of finding the reed perfectly ſtraight, a good tube becomes highly valuable to them, and its value is further enhanced by a ſuperſtition which prevails among them regarding the cutting of the reed. It commonly grows in wet places, or wide ſtagnant marſhes; and ſuperſtition has ſtationed an evil ſpirit to defend it, whence the Indians have the apprehenſion that ſome ill muſt befall him who ventures in to cut the reed. This weakneſs has probably originated from ſome of them having been injured by alligators or ſerpents —evil-beings which commonly inhabit ſuch-like places.

We asked many questions respecting the poison used upon the arrows, but M. Heynemann did not seem to have possessed himself of the secret. He described it as a compound of the juices of three different plants; but he did not seem to have correctly ascertained the mode of preparing it; nor do we learn that it has ever been prepared by any European; although some travellers have described it with a degree of precision, which might seem to imply a full and correct knowledge of its composition. It is a vegetable extract, and we are informed that it is undoubtedly prepared from several plants, sometimes more, and sometimes less in number, but whether in either case, all that are used are necessary to the efficacy of the poison is a dubious question. Its fatal effects are certain and almost instantaneous, provided the minutest particle of it mixes with the blood.—You already know that a quantity of this poison has been carried to England, and that experiments made with it in London, have proved the certainty and rapidity with which it destroys animal life.

M. Heynemann gave us a plentiful dinner, and sweetened its flavour with an unaf-

fected welcome. He expressed himself much gratified that we had made so long a journey to visit him, and confirmed his professions by his friendly conduct, and his bounty in entertaining us. In the afternoon we lost our kind conductors, M. Pauels, and M. Fenner, who left us in order to return to their respective homes, but not until they had earnestly enjoined us to repeat our visits at Arends, and at Johanna, on our return. Being thus deprived of our friendly interpreters, M. Heynemann sought to remedy the evil by calling to our aid an old non-commissioned officer, who had acquired a knowledge of our language, from having been in the English service during the American war. Attended by this old soldier, we set off at six o'clock in the evening for Savonette, the late home of M. Heynemann, where he had long resided amidst whole tribes of Indians, and received honors as their captain or chief. Under his direction, many of them had been taught to labour, and although without much of industry, the plantation Savonette had been cultivated principally by the Bucks. Studious to promote our comfort, the generous Heynemann had put into our boat some food, drink, candles, and other neces-

ſaries for the journey. One of our party being ſeized with a fit of affection for a *handſome Indian ſpecimen* which he had ſeen, pleaded *ſickneſs*, and declined proceeding with us to Savonette: but the major domo happening to diſcover the nature of his complaint, pleaded in his turn the neceſſity of *attending the ſick*, and remained behind likewiſe, *in order to adminiſter* the kind offices of *hoſpitality*.

The effect of the tide, ſo far from the ſea, was very inconſiderable, and ſcarcely ſufficed to counteract the current of the river, hence this ſtage of our journey became a heavy labour to the ſlaves. The day ſoon cloſed in, and, being enveloped on each ſide by the impenetrable gloom of the foreſts, we ſlowly ſtole along the limpid ſurface, amidſt all the ſolemn ſtillneſs of night. It was two o'clock in the morning when we reached the Indian plantation, (if ſo I may term) Savonette, having been nearly eight hours in the boat, and much of the time in the dark. This was a ſadly tedious ſitting, but we were in ſome degree relieved from the fatigue of it, by lighting a candle, and amuſing ourſelves, part of the time, with our cards and books.

We regretted the lateneſs of our arrival the leſs, on account of its affording us an opportunity of ſeeing ſome of the Indians as they were ſleeping in their hammocks, and obſerving their manner of diſpoſing themſelves to reſt for the night.

On quitting the boat, we aſcended what, in this country, might be called a hill, and proceeded to the houſe formerly occupied by M. Heynemann, which is ſituated upon a more ſound and dry ſoil than is common on the borders of this river. Near to the water, was an Indian hut, built like the open ſheds of England, the roof only being covered in, and the ſides left entirely open. Deſirous of witneſſing their mode of ſleeping in their native dwellings, we made no calculations of peril, on the ſcore of unexpectedly diſturbing theſe rude inhabitants of the woods in the night; but without heſitation, entered the houſe, and advanced with our light cloſe up to their hammocks. In the middle of the hut was burning a ſmall fire of wood, immediately over which were ſuſpended three hammocks, made of the bark of a tree, and open like net-work. Two were placed abreaſt very near to the fire,

and the third directly above the others. In one of the lower was lying a naked Indian man: over the fides of the other were hanging feveral legs and arms, and two heads, which we difcovered to belong to a boy and a woman, who were lying naked together in the fame hammock: in the upper one was another man with his long legs hanging out, foliciting his fhare of influence from the fire below. But, from the fides of the hut being left open to the breeze, it was manifeft that the object of the fire, was rather to protect them from infects, than to add to the heat of this almoft equatorial climate. We rambled about until 3 o'clock, availing ourfelves of this moment of unexpected vifitation, to gratify our curiofity with all the variety in our reach. We looked into every hut we met with, and obferved the above to be the common mode of taking reft for the night. It was matter of furprife to us to find how little thefe people of the woods were incommoded by our fudden and nocturnal appearance among them. They expreffed no concern at our prefence, nor evinced the flighteft apprehenfion or curiofity regarding us. Not fo with Vandyke, a hardy old Dutch foldier, whom M. Heyne-

mann had ſtationed at Savonette, as a kind of manager, and deputy poſt-holder, in order to take charge of the eſtate, and maintain a friendly intercourſe with the naked inhabitants of the woods. This man, like the Bucks themſelves, was living almoſt in a ſtate of nature. The natives of the foreſt were his only companions, and from ſome of his habits, it might have ſeemed that, in their ſociety, he had forgotten the duties of civilization: Yet, in his general conduct, he was attentive and reſpectful, and appeared to poſſeſs the ſoft feelings of humanity. No European lived nearer to him than at M. Heynemann's, and the few who reſided there he ſeldom ſaw; nothing therefore could exceed his ſurprize, on waking in the dead of the night, and finding a party of officers, armed, and in ſcarlet uniform, ſtanding at his bedſide. You will imagine that it was with difficulty he gave credit to his ſenſes, or believed that he was actually awake. Although I carefully remarked the expreſſion of his countenance, his incoherent replies, and all his agitated movements, you will better conceive the effect of ſuch a viſit upon his mind than it is poſſible for my pen to deſcribe it. Vandyke's bed, like the couch of the Indians,

was a ſimple hammock ; and only differed from theirs, in being made of cotton inſtead of the bark of a tree. In another hammock cloſe at his ſide, was lying a naked Indian woman, whom he had ſelected from the woods as his wife. She appeared to be ill, and we were led to aſk ſome queſtions regarding the means of procuring her medical relief, when Vandyke, with an air of nonchalance, inſtantly replied, "Och ! als zy ziek is, moet ik eene andere hebben," which may be thus tranſlated, "when ſhe grows ſick, I turn her into the woods and take another."

Vandyke was too much aſtoniſhed at our unexpected appearance, as well as too much a ſoldier, to remain quietly in his hammock, while he ſaw a party of officers unprovided ; he therefore very quickly roſe, and, conducting us to the beſt room he had, ſet before us ſuch fare, as his ſcanty means enabled him to collect, and kindly bade us welcome ; then pointed out to us ſome hooks, whereon to ſuſpend our hammocks for the remainder of the night. Our chamber very much reſembled an old barn. The repaſt preſented by Vandyke was Caſſada bread, with Hollands

and water: but the hoſpitality of M. Heynemann had prevented us from being thrown upon the humble fare of Savonette—compared to which our boat was a luxurious larder.

The convenience of hammocks was never greater, nor more ſtriking than upon this occaſion. In ſuch an apartment beds or mattreſſes had been objects of terror to us, but ſuſpended in our hammocks, we lay in comfort, bidding defiance to lizards, vermin, thick cobwebs, dirt and all other annoyances.

Anticipated gratification robs the author of rest. Sensations on looking out at the door of Savonette early in the morning. Visit to an Indian village in the woods. Scenery on entering the forest. Reflections on approaching the village. Vandyke ensures the party a civil reception. No ceremony observed. Author and his comrades minutely examine all around them. Bucks absent. Buckeen employed preparing cassada. Curiosity not reciprocal. The party procure specimens of animals, implements and utensils. The laba. An example of natural affection in the wild woods. A further example of the same. Food used by the Indians. Manner of preparing it. Indolence of the inhabitants of the woods. Cassada their "staff of life." Pepper-pot of crabs, and laba. The Armadillo. Structure of the Indian huts. Author expresses a hope of shewing the model of one to his friend some day in England. Temple of incantation. Superstition of the Indians respecting disease. Hot or vapour bath. Scenery round the forest village. An immense tree of the Tonquin bean. Concerning other trees in the woods of Guiana. A Kiwibi, and other specimens presented by Vandyke: Water-lemons,—by the Indians. Military honors. Echo through the deep forest. Author and his comrades return to Mynheer Heynemann's, and to Arends.

Berbische.

EAGER anticipation tracing in my mind all that we were to see, hear, and acquire at Sa-

vonette, I had ſcarcely cloſed my eyes before it was time again to open them. The period allowed to us, by the arrangements of Meſſrs. Heynemann, Fenner and Pauels, was very limited; fearing, therefore, to loſe the ſmalleſt portion of the allotted hours, I was again up and abroad before my companions. Stepping out at the door I gazed around me, and wiſhing for a thouſand eyes and ears, looked on every object, and liſtened to every ſound. It was 7 o'clock.—Vandyke had riſen with the ſun, and now came to offer himſelf to our command. Our non-commiſſioned interpreter was alſo ready, and obedient to our will. As ſoon therefore as my comrades left their hammocks, we took our breakfaſts of coffee and caſſada bread; and, without further delay, ſet forth into the woods, in ſearch of the Indian town;—to viſit which was the great object of our journey to Savonette. We were quite a military body, having, in our party, captain, ſubaltern, non-commiſſioned officer and private: aye! you will ſay, and attended by the doctor too!

Entering the foreſt, the firſt thing that attracted our notice was a cluſter of wild pines,

growing ten or twelve feet high. Our path was good. Although pleasantly shaded at each side, it was not so narrow as to confine us to the usual Indian file. It more resembled the open ridings which embellish the woods of England. The scene was new. Every object created a lively interest. Expectation was ardent; and curiosity on the point of being gratified. I cannot tell you the sensations we experienced during this walk of nearly a mile. The gnomes and sylphs of ethereal regions could not have journied with less fatigue. All was mind. The busy soul seemed released from its sluggish clay; and the heavy clog of body was no longer an incumbrance. We were about to contemplate what we might never behold again—a novelty peculiarly exquisite, and of more than common interest, for . . . . . it attached to our species! All that concerns the habits and comfort of man, I always regard with high veneration. In whatever relates to our nature, I feel a glowing sympathy; and I affectionate the whole human race in every state and station. In what we differ and in what resemble each other, are questions of more than ordinary curiosity—questions that strike upon my mind with uncommon

influence. Whatever tends to ſtrengthen the connection between man and man; to improve our being, and increaſe the general happineſs of my fellow creatures, I regard with an attachment bordering upon enthuſiaſm. I feel that in the great ſcale of creation we all are men and brothers. The little varieties in the habits of ſome, and the different ſhades of colour in others, in no degree alienate the affection I bear them, as individuals of the ſame ſocial race to which I belong. Situation and circumſtance may have held us ſeparate, and have led to different cuſtoms and purſuits: but in nature, we are ſtill the ſame; whether we tread the globe in one quarter or another; whether rude or refined; whether pampered with luxury in the towered cities of Europe; or fed with more ſimple fare in the wild foreſts of America!

With my mind thus occupied, I was among the foremoſt of the train, on our way to the Indian town. Feeling anxious to avoid every poſſible cauſe of offence, we begged of Vandyke to inſtruct us in ſuch rules of conduct, as it might be proper to obſerve towards the naked tribe; but he did not conſider any

precautions neceſſary : being himſelf familiar with theſe natives of the woods, he left us to our own diſcretion, and aſſured us a civil, if not a polite reception. On our arrival he at once led us into the ſimple ſtructures, uſed for houſes. No ceremony was obſerved : neither rapping at the door, nor ringing at the bell was required. "Parlez au Suiſſe" offered no impediment nor delay. Vandyke advanced, and the party was at once amidſt the family. You will believe that our curioſity was active. Not a houſe, a hut, nor a hammock eſcaped us. The multiplied viſion of all-prying Argus could not have accompliſhed more. Not an article of furniture, not an implement, nor utenſil; not a ſtep of ground; nor a movement, nor look of any inhabitant was diſregarded. We hunted through every corner and place, taking up ſome things in our hands, eying others, and aſſailing Vandyke with queſtions concerning all. The *Bucks* were gone into the foreſt to cut wood, the *Buckeen* and their children being left at home. Moſt of the women were occupied in one ſtep or other of the proceſs of preparing the poiſonous caſſada into food. We were anxious to ſee them in their different employments, and, therefore, haſtened from

hut to hut in the idea of coming upon them, before their occupations were interrupted by the curiofity which we thought it probable might be excited from the unexpected arrival of a party of clothed ftrangers among them But on this head we need have had no anxiety. Not an individual fuffered any interruption from our prefence. The curiofity, by which we were actuated, was in no degree reciprocal; for fcarcely did any one take the trouble even to look towards us! We paffed through their huts, and around their perfons, in a manner unnoticed; and they continued at work, or unemployed, precifely as we found them! Whether on their legs, whether feated or lying in their hammocks, fo they remained, no obfervable change being induced by our vifit.

Added to the gratification of our curiofity it was in part our object to collect fpecimens of natural production, or of Indian workmanfhip. We accordingly procured a varied affemblage, in which was a fmall and very beautiful little animal called the Lion monkey; alfo a Laba, whofe flefh is efteemed the moft delicious food of the country. In appearance this animal fomewhat refembles the hare, but

its meat approaches nearer to a mixed flavour of the hare, and of very delicate pork. It is dreſſed without caſing; the ſkin being conſidered the moſt favorite part of the diſh. This is very thick, and in cooking becomes gelatinous, like the calves-head, or turtle. The Indians ſcald off the hair or fur, then cut the animal in pieces, and ſtew it in caſſada juice, ſeaſoning it very high with capſicum. Thus prepared, it is truly delicious, and if it could be had in London, might form a diſh not unworthy the notice of a manſion-houſe purveyor.

Many fine bows and arrows were among the collection we procured at this foreſt village. In one of the huts my eye was caught by a ſmall bow and arrow, which appeared to be extremely delicate, of exquiſite workmanſhip, and by far the fineſt ſpecimen of the kind we had met with. I immediately formed a wiſh to ſhew them to my friends in England; and, taking them into my hand, reſolved to make the purchaſe, whatever value might be fixed upon them. But I was diſappointed by an unexpected circumſtance, which very much intereſted my feelings, and which I ſhall ever

remember with pleaſure. Holding the bow and arrow to the naked woman of the houſe, I was about to offer money, my pocket handkerchief, or my neckcloth in exchange for them; when a little copper-ſkinned urchin, almoſt covered with long black hair, broke out in ſuch piteous bewailings, that (although to have had the bow and arrow, I would have given almoſt any article of my apparel) I was at once diverted from every thought of poſſeſſing them. I felt that no terms could induce me to take them, if at the expence of the tears, and broken-hearted lamentations of the young archer to whom they belonged. Still I own that I was cruel enough to prolong the little rogue's cries and fears, by an experiment upon the feelings of the mother. I wiſhed to aſcertain the ſentiments of an inhabitant of the rude foreſt upon ſuch an occaſion; and to obſerve what would be the conduct exhibited under the circumſtances of a ſon's diſtreſs; I, therefore, ſeemingly, perſevered in my attempts to prevail on the woman to let me have the bow and arrow:—but ſhe was true to nature; and her child's happineſs was the firſt object of her parent breaſt! No offer—no perſuaſion could tempt her to barter her ſon's

peace. If her dear boy's comfort was to be the price, nothing was adequate—nothing could compenſate! The little diſtreſſed rogue hung about my knee—ran to his mother—held up an imploring hand—and uttered ſad cries of affliction. I, for a time, reſiſted the impulſe of my feelings—diſplayed to the woman my handkerchief, and my pocket-book—offered her money—tried to ſoothe her ſon, and feigned every means of perſuaſion: but all in vain! She remained inflexible! Her child was unhappy, and with his comfort there could be no compromiſe. It was enough! The experiment was made; and I was delighted to find that in the wild woods the ſacred laws of nature were not ſubordinate to all-ſubduing intereſt.

I had no deſire further to tantalize the little weeping urchin, or his affectionate mother, therefore gave him the bow and arrow, and made him happy —— compenſating the affliction I had cauſed him by the pocket handkerchief which I had offered as the purchaſe of his arms. His grief inſtantly vaniſhed: but he flew to his mother, and, clinging to her, did not again venture from her ſide,

whilſt we remained in the hut. We honored the woman for her conduct, and were delighted to witneſs ſo ſtriking an example of the natural affections, operating in all their genuine purity, unſophiſticated by the ſordid motives which but too often govern the more cultivated beings of what is termed civilized life.

Further examples occurred to us evincing the powerful operation of the affections among theſe uncivilized people. One of the women pointed out to our obſervation the grave of her ſon; a youth who had deſtroyed himſelf becauſe the mother of a young buckeen, of whom he was enamoured, could not be prevailed upon to let him take her daughter for his wife. Thus the wily Cupid would ſeem to wield his bow with equal prowеſs amidſt the ſimple beings of the foreſt, as among the more pampered ſwains of crowded ſociety. The laws of nature are univerſal, and ſhe is ever uniform and conſiſtent. In her paſſions ſhe knows no diſtinction between the rude woods and poliſhed cities. Courtly refinement may counterfeit, clothe, and conceal—but, if fairly expoſed, the moſt accompliſhed

of mankind will be found to be governed by the ſame natural feelings as the uncultivated ſavage. The ſon of our afflicted buckeen was young, and his attachment as pure as it was ardent and diſintereſted. Without the adored object of his affections life was inſupportable, and he reſolved not to ſurvive the diſappointment: deprived of his heart's choice, exiſtence loſt all its charms, and he yielded himſelf a victim to deſpair! Theſe rude people honored the ſentiment. In ſad grief his parents deplored their loſs, and the inhabitants of every hut lamented the fate of the youthful lover. An additional inſtance of natural affection and attachment occurred in the ſolemn obſervance paid to his remains, which as an ever dear and ſacred depoſit, were entombed within the chamber where his afflicted parents dwelt!

Like all other tribes who are ignorant of the comforts and conveniencies of civilization, the Indians of Guiana procure their food from the rivers, the ſea, and the foreſts. They have no animals domeſticated, nor any grain nor roots, except the caſſada, brought into cultivation; and hence they depend very much

upon the fortune of the chase, for subsistence. A small species of deer, called *wirrebocerra*, the laba, and the armadillo are among the animals they most esteem. Fish and crabs are also much used, particularly the latter, which they find in great abundance in the muddy margins of the rivers; especially at the parts where they open into the sea. When fortunate in the chase, they indulge their natural indolence by lying in their hammocks most of the time until their provisions are expended; and when the supply obtained by the bow and arrow is less plentiful, or when their hunt in the woods happens to prove unsuccessful, they find a resource in crabs and cassada, which may be considered their staple articles of consumption. Indeed the cassada may be called their *staff of life*, for it offers a supply when they fail in the chase, and becomes to them what plantains are to the negroes of these colonies, or potatoes to Irish peasants. It being the only vegetable they cultivate, it is usual to see it planted in a rough and irregular manner near to and about their huts. Very commonly they prepare their food in the form of pepper-pot—their favorite dishes being crabs, or laba, stewed with cassada

juice, and seasoned extremely hot with red pepper.

I can give testimony to both of these being very rich and good; perhaps in point of flavour the pepper-pot of crabs claims the preference; but either might be a feast for an epicure. In one of the huts we saw part of an armadillo, which had been broiled or roasted in its shell. It was well-flavored, and in appearance and taste not very unlike young pig. Water is their common drink, but they sometimes use a fermented liquor called *piworree*, which they make from cassada. This is intoxicating, and has some resemblance to beer.

The huts are usually constructed like that which we saw near the landing place at Savonette. I hope to be able to shew you a model of them on my return to England—having the promise of one, made by the Bucks, with furniture complete. At the village some of the huts were closed in at the ends; others were left entirely open. The roofs were neatly thatched with the leaf of the coco-nut or the mountain-cabbage. Near to the cabins that were inhabited, we observed a detached

building enclosed on all sides, forming a single room, into which light and air were only admitted at the door-way. Upon inquiry we learned that this was devoted to the use of the sick—not as an hospital, but as a temple of incantation, for the purpose of expelling disease. Their superstition attributes sickness to witchcraft, or the visitation of some evil spirit like the Obeah of the Africans—and having faith in spells, they make little decorated instruments, of tender rushes about a foot long, which the physicians, or priests called *Pyeis*, employ, together with other magical implements, as wands to drive out these demons of ill, which they term *Yowahoos*. The Pyei is thought to possess a peculiar influence over the Yowahoo—and by means of dissimulation, and superstitious forms, the sick and his friends are made to believe that he holds an intercourse with him, previous to removing the effect of his malign visitation from his patients. The building would seem better calculated for their more natural remedy, the hot or vapour bath, which they contrive by throwing water upon a large heated stone, and enveloping the sick person in the steam.

Around the village the wood had been partially cleared away, and the ſcenery of this intereſting ſpot was much improved by ſeveral cows coming out of the thick part of the foreſt to browſe about the open ſpace. They were the produce of a herd originally brought by M. Heynemann to Savonette.

After having gratified our curioſity by a long viſit, and a minute inſpection of every thing worthy of notice at the Indian town, we were led, through a cloſe and narrow path, devoid of any turning, either to the right hand, or the left, into the profoundeſt ſhades of the foreſt. The way was difficult, and we were compelled to follow each other in ſingle file, throughout the whole length of our walk; which, from the cloſeneſs of the wood, the narrowneſs of the path, and the conſequent defection of the breeze, was diſtreſſingly hot and confined. The object from which we were to expect compenſation was . . . . a tree! we had ſtrong apprehenſions that the ſight of it might not be an adequate reward for ſo fatiguing a walk, but we had thrown ourſelves upon the judgment of Vandyke, deſiring him to conduct us to all that might be

gratifying to ſtrangers, we therefore marched on, in tacit obedience, relying upon his guidance; and our perſeverance was amply recompenſed by viewing the great chief of the foreſt —an enormous tree of the Tonquin bean, which appears in lofty and majeſtic trunk, extending its high-exalted foliage above the hoſts of aſpiring rivals that ſurround it. The body forms an immenſe perpendicular pillar riſing to the height of, perhaps, 70 or 80 feet before it throws out a ſhoot or a bud, then ſpreading its wide-expanded branches in proud canopy, ſo elevated as to protect from the reach, and even to conceal from the eye, the nuts which contain its ſweet-ſcented beans. Viewing this huge tree with regard to its ſtraight and perpendicular trunk, its immenſe bulk, and, above all, its prodigious height, it may be conſidered as one of the fineſt ſpecimens of vegetable production growing on the face of the globe. In beauty and grandeur it is equalled only by the ſtately mountain-cabbage, whoſe majeſtic trunk, and fine palmated foliage, ſtand unrivalled in the vegetable world.

The trees grow to a ſize in theſe foreſts not readily to be imagined by perſons who

have feen only those of the more temperate climate of Europe. They are tall and ftately, and contain a great proportion of timber, in confequence of running up to an immenfe height before they throw off their branches. It is often difficult, and not unfrequently impoffible to reach their fruit, or foliage. The Tonquin bean tree, when growing out of the foreft, feldom attains to this ftatelinefs of form: it branches off at a fhorter diftance from the ground, and in its growth more refembles the Englifh afh; the bark is fomewhat like the poplar, and the leaves like thofe of the pear. The one we faw had been drawn up to an unufual height, by growing in a crowd, and was indebted to health and years for its extraordinary bulk. The nuts containing the fragrant beans are abundantly plentiful in the foreft, and may be picked up in bufhels under the trees, at a certain feafon of the year. While we were gazing at this vegetable giant, Vandyke cut on its bark the initials of our names, and the date of our vifit; and this neceffary ceremony having been duly performed, we trod our way back, by the narrow path, to the refidence of our friendly guide, and there moft gladly made a refting place. But Vandyke

was allowed no reſpite, for we ſtill beſet him with hoſts of queſtions : and when he had ſatisfied our inquiries, and we learned that Savonette offered no further novelty, we reſumed our places in the boat, and returned to the abode of the hoſpitable Heynemann. Vandyke preſented us with a young Kiwihi, an animal which bears ſome reſemblance to a pig, and is about the ſize of a large cat, having a very long tail, marked with alternate rings of black and white hair. He alſo gave us ſeveral ſpecimens of Indian implements, moſt of which I hope ſome day to ſhew you in England. Some of the Indians followed us to the water-ſide, and put into our boat large baſkets filled with fine water-lemons, which they had gathered from the woods.

On our quitting the ſhore Vandyke honored our departure with the firing of cannon. He was a ſoldier, and in additionto other civilities, felt a pride in ſhewing to officers who viſited him every mark of military reſpect. We were the more pleaſed with the compliment, as it afforded us an unexpected, and moſt welcome opportunity of hearing the enchanting echo through the woods.

We were in time to take a late dinner with Mynheer Heynemann, and in the evening, according to the plan laid down for us, we proceeded to Arends. M. Paúels was from home, but we found the beſt arrangements of the family ordered for our accommodation. We were ſumptuouſly entertained by a young gentleman, the friend of M. Paúels; and at night were conducted to very excellent bedchambers, fitted up more in the ſtyle of European accommodation than any we had ſeen in the colony.

Feelings of satisfaction evinced by Mynheer Heynemann. His attention to the author. Connecting link between the Indians and the colonists. Policy of the Dutch government respecting the Indians. Opportunities possessed by Mynheer Heynemann of observing the character and habits of the people of the woods:—peculiarly qualified for the appointment of post holder:—elected a chief among the Indians. Proposal to assemble a body of them in military array. On the remarks and observations of Mynheer Heynemann. Indian tribes in Guiana. The Charibs most warlike. Prominent features distinguishing the Indians from Europeans—from Africans. Clothing of the Indians. Kway used by the Buckeen. Conduct of a mother and daughter on presenting the apparel of a young Buckeen to the author.

Berbische.

THE generous Heynemann appeared much gratified by the satisfaction we expressed ourselves to have experienced in our visit at Savonette, and in our acknowledgments of the civil attentions of his deputy, Vandyke. He was particularly pleased at the interest which, he was pleased to say, I seemed to take "regarding every object, and every circumstance in this remote part of the world," and so at-

tached himſelf to the means of gratifying me, that I was compelled peremptorily to arreſt the liberal hand with which he would have beſtowed multiplied marks of his friendſhip—to the injury, and almoſt the extinction of his own collection. At firſt I had freely expreſſed my admiration of ſuch things as were calculated to call it forth, but I ſoon diſcovered, that to admire was to tax his generoſity; for if he only heard me breathe approval, or but ſaw, by my eye, that a ſpecimen pleaſed me, it was inſtantly mine. He gave me ſamples of various gums, nuts, and woods, employed in medicine by the Indians, alſo, cryſtals, bows and arrows, Indian paddles, muſical inſtruments, inſtruments of war, implements of houſehold furniture, uſed by the Bucks, and a variety of other curioſities: indeed, could I have perſuaded myſelf to have taken all he offered me, I might have fitted up a ſmall muſeum; but I could not reconcile the idea of treſpaſſing upon ſuch liberality, and therefore poſitively refuſed many ſpecimens of which I obſerved that he had no duplicates, and which I felt it poſſible he might afterwards lament. He was equally liberal in all his attentions, and ſeem-

ed desirous to explain to me whatever I wished to ask. You will believe that I had less reserve in my questions, than in the acceptance of his generous offerings, and that I was happy to call forth the observations and remarks derived from his long and familiar intercourse with the Indians. At his present abode and at Savonette he had resided, during many years, in the appointment of post-holder, having constant intercourse with the Indians, and forming the connecting link between them and the colonists.

It was the policy of the Dutch government to expend a certain sum annually in the purchase of blue cloth, beads, ribbons, hatchets, and other implements, and ornaments to give to the Indians; and it was made the duty of the person placed at the most remote estate of the colony, to associate with the Indians, and to cultivate their friendship, in order to prevent acts of hostility on their part, and to secure to the colonists the peaceable possession of the territory they had appropriated. Hence, from situation and appointment, as well as from natural

difpofition, abundant opportunities had offered to M. Heynemann of intermixing freely with the Indians, and obferving their moft retired, as well as their more exterior habits. Poffeffed of enterprifing talents, and a certain hardihood of mind and frame, together with affable and conciliatory manners, he was peculiarly qualified for the truft which had been fo long confided to him. He mixed with the Indians, affumed their habits, infinuated himfelf into their good opinion, and became fo entirely one of themfelves, that at Savonette they elected him their chief or king; and he could, at any time, affemble them in a body of feveral hundreds, in military array, and appear as captain at their head.

This was a novelty which he offered to exhibit to us, if we would confent to prolong our vifit, or would repeat it, giving him only a few days notice of our coming. I regretted extremely that it could not be in my power to accept either of thefe propofals. It was a high compliment offered to us, and what I fhould have particularly enjoyed; but I had only a fhort time to remain at Berbifche, and dared not look to another long abfence.

M. Heynemann is a man of great zeal, activity and exertion. With considerable penetration, he possesses much of perseverance, but from the want of a liberal education his observations, though valuable, are loose and undigested—devoid of arrangement and scientific correctness; and evidently not the result of any systematic train of inquiry. Governed by chance, and with no specific object in view, his pursuits and remarks are not so conducted as to promote, essentially, the advancement of natural science; but, perhaps, a man of high literary acquirements would be less fitted for the post which M. Heynemann has so long filled with credit to himself, and advantage to the colony. I should have been much gratified could we have prolonged our visit, and with regret bade adieu to this generous chief of the naked tribes.

Although, from my short stay among them, you cannot expect an elaborate disquisition upon the subject of the Indians, you will perhaps demand a passing word on such prominent points, concerning them, as more immediately strike the eye. I may, therefore tell you that the Indians who inhabit this part

of the South American coast are of four tribes or nations, the Arrouwacs, the Accawaus, the Warrous, and the Charibbees. The Charibbees or Charibs, as they are more frequently called, are the tallest men, and of the most warlike aspect. Those we have seen of the other tribes are rather short, but in general well formed;—although their figure denotes more of substance than of gracefulness. They are of a bright bay colour, their hair jet black, long, and straight. In common they are rather personable, and their features are more indicative of mildness than ferocity; for, although in some of them the lines of the Tartar face may be traced, the character more generally denoted by the countenance is that of gentleness and tranquillity. The eyes are very black, they are small, distant from each other, and deep in the orbits. The cheek-bones stand a little wide, but they are not strongly prominent, the forehead tends to squareness of form, and the eye-brows are heavy. The nose, though not strongly aquiline, when viewed in profile somewhat approaches that shape;—the mouth is of middle size; the lips of moderate thickness; the teeth rather small, white and regular; the chin round; the angles of the lower

jaw ſomewhat wide: from all which, you will perceive that the face is rather broad than round, although the contour approaches more to the circular than the long or oval. We did not obſerve among them any reſemblance of the flat noſe, the wide mouth, thick lips, or large teeth of the negroes.

Their necks are thick, and in general not ſufficiently long to be graceful. The cheſt is high and full; the ſhoulders ſquare, going off at nearly right angles from the neck. The limbs are fleſhy and robuſt. Upon the whole, they may be ſaid to be of the figure generally denominated ſquare-made, and conſequently their form denotes more of ſtrength, than of gracefulneſs or agility. Still there is a difference between their figure and that of the ſtrong-marked muſcular ſubjects of colder and more mountainous regions. Among the Indians of Guiana, the rough lines denoting ſtrength are concealed in conſequence of the interſtices between the muſcles being ſo filled with fat as to give a general ſmoothneſs to the ſurface; and from the ſame cauſe, the fine action of the different muſcles becomes leſs obvious, when they are in motion, or

under any exertion. Hence, although the figure of an Indian be ſquare, full, and robuſt, ſtill it does not convey preciſely that idea of ſtrength which attaches to the rough and muſcular frames of the North; and yet is their form even *more unlike* that of the negroes.

It has happened to me to have frequent opportunities of ſeeing parties of Indians, and of Africans ſtanding naked together, and I have always remarked a ſtriking difference in their figure. The negroes have longer necks, and a finer fall of the ſhoulder. Their cheſt is not ſo full and open. The limbs are not ſo ſtout, but thinner, and longer in proportion to the body.—The form of the Indians appears cloſe and compact, while that of the negroes is more looſe and ſlender, and more indicative of the heat and languor of climate. The projecting curvature of the tibia, ſo common to the Africans, does not prevail among the Indians. The difference of countenance is ſtill more remarkable than the difference of form; but, as the negro face is familiar to you, I need not enter into a more minute detail of the diſcordant features.

The Indians wear no clothing, except a band tied round the waist and brought between the legs to fasten before; such as I have mentioned to be in use among the negroes of these colonies. This is worn both by the men and women. Some, who have visited the colonists, have it made of blue cloth; but those who have not had the same opportunities of procuring cloth, make it of the bark of a tree. Sometimes, instead of this band, the women use a small apron about three or four inches square, which being tied round the waste, and left to hang loose before, serves by way of a fig-leaf. These aprons they call *kways.* Among those who have associated with the colonists, the kway is sometimes made of small beads of different colours, ingeniously put on threads of cotton, or of the silk-grass, so as to give the apron the appearance of being woven in a variety of figures. This is used as high dress, and is much valued. It happened that I, one day, met a young buckeen, thus ornamented, walking with her mother, and, being desirous to add a sample of the kway to my collection of specimens, I made signs to the parent, meaning to ask if she could procure me one; when, without the slightest hesitation,

ſhe took off that which was before my eyes, and preſented it to me: the young lady very modeſtly, but without bluſhes, ſupplying its place with the pocket handkerchief which I gave her in exchange.

Form and general appearance of the Indians. Cuſtom of pulling the hair from different parts of their bodies. Remarks concerning the indolent habits of the people of the woods. Labour not a natural impulſe. Indians fond of ſpirituous liquors. A degree of method obtains in their intoxication. Polygamy practiſed among them. Deſpotic towards their wives. The women toil at home, and bear the burden when they move abroad. The Buckeen ſombre and reſerved in preſence of the men—are fond of drinking rum. Some obſervations reſpecting obeſity—alſo concerning gout.

Berbiſche.

FROM the inactivity of the Indians they are generally ſeen to be *enbonpoint*, and this, as I remarked before, gives them a certain ſmoothneſs of form, and of ſurface; but their ſkins have not that velvet ſoftneſs ſo common to the negroes. Their bodies are peculiarly free from hair. Poſſeſſing an idea, that it is more becoming not to have any hairs, except upon the head, they are in the habit of pulling them

out from the chin, the breaſt, the armpits, and other parts. The general ſmoothneſs, thus given to the ſurface, has led ſome travellers, who have been ignorant of the cauſe, into the error of conſidering this to be their natural appearance; and hence have ariſen the ſtrange opinions that they differed from Europeans, and were in this reſpect a peculiar race of the human ſpecies. The inſtrument uſed for pulling out the hairs is a ſmall piece of wood partially ſplit. Thoſe who intermix with the coloniſts often employ a bit of wire, twiſted into a ſpiral form, like that which is uſed for making the elaſtic hatbands.

From the heat of the climate, and the facility of procuring food, the Indians of Guiana are naturally indolent. In every quarter of the globe the great incentive to induſtry is either neceſſity, intereſt, or ambition, Labour, ſimply as ſuch, is no where a natural impulſe. It is the effect of our real, or imaginary wants. Among the natives of theſe woods, it ſprings from neceſſity alone, and ceaſes with the immediate occaſion which calls it forth. They have no intereſt in the accumulation of property; and therefore are not

led to labour in order to obtain wealth. They live under the most perfect equality, and hence are not impelled to industry by that spirit of emulation, which, in society, leads to great and unwearied exertion. Content with their simple means, they evince no desire to emulate the habits, or the occupations of the colonists: but, on the contrary, seem to regard their toils and customs with a sense of pity or contempt. I have, occasionally, seen parties of them looking on, when our soldiers have been assembled, and going through the various evolutions of their exercise: and they universally regarded them with a quiet indifference, or the only sentiment indicated by their features was a kind of contemptuous pity, which was sometimes expressed by a significant look, that seemed to say—"Aye, foolish people! you take vast pains with these things:—but we do them much better, with infinitely less trouble."

They are very fond of drinking rum, and eagerly swallow it to intoxication. But they observe a kind of method in their drunkenness; for when they come down to the towns in bodies of considerable numbers, it is observ-

ed that half of the party will freely devote to Bacchus, while the other half carefully refrain, in order to watch the helplefs; and thefe, when reftored by all-healing Morpheus, are obferved to take *their turn* of watching, and to guard their late protectors through a fimilar vifit to the deities of turbulence and repofe. They have no pleafure in long fipping, but fwallow large draughts of rum, or drink it quickly, glafs after glafs, till they are unable to move.

The Indians are very arbitrary and defpotic towards their women. Polygamy is practifed among them. Each man takes as many wives as he can conveniently maintain. They are very jealous, and commonly appoint the fenior of their wives as a fpy or guardian over the conduct of the others; but as a fpice of intrigue has found its way even into the wild woods, means have been found to convert the old Duenna into the beft channel of obtaining kind favors from the junior branches of the *harem*.

All the domeftic labour is done by the females, and in their journeyings, from place to place, the women are made to toil under

the burden of whatever they may have to tranſport. Thus in removing from any place of abode to take up a new home, the different articles of furniture, and all the little variety of implements and utenſils are loaded upon the backs of the women, who follow in ſilent train, bending under a heavy load, while their imperious lord marches on before unincumbered.

From the rigid government exerciſed over them, by the men, the women appear to be ſombre and reſerved. They commonly ſit with their backs towards ſtrangers, and remain in profound ſilence when their huſbands are preſent. In their abſence they ſhew leſs reſtraint, and ſeem more diſpoſed to cheerfulneſs and vivacity. Like the men they are very fond of rum, and drink it glaſs after glaſs, as though it were only water.

I have obſerved that notwithſtanding the great heat of climate, the Indians of South America are not of the ſame meager appearance as the negroes. From their habits of indolence a portion of fat is depoſited under the

ſkin, which gives them a ſoft fulneſs of form unlike the rough-lined ſpareneſs of the negroes, or the ſtrong-lined vigour of the inhabitants of colder regions: but we did not ſee, among the people of the woods, a ſingle inſtance of the heavy, protruding obeſity ſo frequent among the luxurious ſons of civilized ſociety. Figures, it is true, may be found among them as lean as hard-toiling ſlaves—but perhaps no Indian was ever ſeen palpitating under that oppreſſive protuberance of fat, which the *bons vivans* of Europe, and particularly the beef-eating ſubjects of England ſo frequently carry before them.

This circumſtance may tend to ſhew that great obeſity is only the effect of indolence, or good living, or of both acting together; and that by a due obſervance of exerciſe and abſtemiouſneſs it might, in all caſes, be prevented. Perhaps no Weſt India planter ever loſt the labour of a ſlave from his being overloaded with fat: nor did Alexander or Hannibal, after a long and ſevere campaign, ever ſee their armies thinned in conſequence of their ſoldiers being oppreſſed with obeſity. Indeed the

common labourers of Europe do not often find their toil interrupted by carrying about them a weighty mass of idulgence and luxury.

The same may be remarked in a great degree with respect to that distressing malady the gout. The Indian is not detained from the chase, the soldier from the march, nor the slave nor the peasant from his toil in the field, by the gnawings of this painful disorder. It is almost wholly confined to the rich and luxurious, and is at once the offspring and punishment of indolence and voluptuousness; nor would it long remain among the opprobria of medicine, were it possible to enforce the regimen prescribed by physicians:—although it must continue to prevail so long as forbearance, from habits of indulgence, shall be deemed a greater punishment than the painful tortures of the disease.

But what hath all this to do with our journey upon the Berbische river?—methinks I hear you exclaim! Not much truly—yet I would hope it is not a digression beyond the bounds of our preliminaries.

The party are conducted from Arends to Johanna by Mynheer Fenner. Journey across the Savanna and forest. Chase of a mule. Visit to an Indian Village. A wretched object of disease. A plantation of reeds for making arrows. Trees of wild cinnamon. The party dine at Johanna :—sleep at Helvetia. Cordially welcomed by Mynheer Freinde. Honored with peculiar marks of attention by Mynheer Fenner. A comfortless night. Unhappy feelings concerning an ebon nymph. Visit to Mynheer Scholten at the old town. Apologies of M. le vieu Fiscal. His excesses attributed to "levelling bumpers." A purchase from a handsome Indian woman. River current. Visit to the plantation Daargradt—a colonial estate—perhaps "prize property." Alarm of an old Hollander on seeing a party of British officers. A wretched night in consequence of musquitoes.

Berbische.

To return with you to our tour, let me tell you that M. Fenner very kindly met us at Arends in the morning, with a fine mule, and a whole troop of slaves and horses to conduct us again to his home at Johanna. According to the usual custom, coffee was brought to us at 7 o'clock on leaving our hammocks, and without waiting for a more substantial breakfast, we made the round of the plantation, and walked to see some Tonquin bean trees, which were growing upon the estate; then mounted our ponies, and put ourselves on the march, attended part of the way by M. Mittel-

holſter; with whom we had been gueſts for the night.

The party formed a motley group, conſiſting of Dutch planters, Britiſh officers, and naked Africans marching acroſs an immenſe waſte ſurrounded with wild woods, under a ſcorching and vertical ſun, with M. Fenner our friendly conductor, ſeated upon a prancing mule, leading the way as commander at the head of the ſquadron. His groteſque figure and appearance would have highly diverted you; for, worthy man, he was not barely a Hollander on horſeback—but a *gros-culottes* dreſſed in a white coat and broad brimmed hat, capering upon a little ſlender mule, and in danger of falling off at every ſtep: indeed it was evident to the whole corps, that if they ſhould venture to move quicker than the Dutch *pas grave*, their leader would ſoon *fall* in the *rear*: — nor had we gone far before the prediction was verified; and our decanted conductor took a ſoft ſeat on the *parterre*; leaving *Mademoiſelle mulet* to kick her heels in air acroſs the wide ſavanna. Finding that our chief had fallen without being wounded, the whole troop was quickly engaged in a chaſe acroſs the wide plain, to over-

take their captain's charger. At this moment a rapid thought winged its way to England, and I wished I could have placed a picture before you, representing your friend occupied, amidst a group of horse and foot, planters, officers, and slaves—*English*, *Africans*, and *Dutch*, scampering over a wild savanna, enclosed by the deep forests of *Guiana*, in pursuit of a *South American* mule. We fortunately surrounded the animal before she had made her way into the woods, and, after a wide gallop about the plain, she was brought back into the ranks.

It now became a question, who should mount the mule; for Mynheer Fenner, though not hurt, had grown pallid and nervous, and was in truth, so bad a horseman, that there was not the least probability of his remaining many minutes upon her back, if he should again attempt to ride her: and to leave our captain, our guide, and our host behind us, to walk to Johanna, could not be endured. In this dilemma it fell to my lot to undertake the management of the frisky mule, throughout the remainder of the journey; — and, whether her capering fit was subdued by the chase

about the savanna, or, whether she preferred an English to a Dutch rider, it were of no consequence to determine: — she carried me pleasantly and quietly, and we arrived at Johanna without further accident or disaster.

On our way we were conducted to an Indian village, built at the edge of the savanna, just within the border of the forest. Very few of the people were in their houses. They were engaged in the chase in search of provisions, or had concealed themselves in the woods, upon seeing us approach. In one of the huts we found an old woman wretchedly diseased, left quite alone, and lying naked in a hammock. She seemed to be only a breathing skeleton: her countenance was deeply *Hippocratic*: eruptions and foul ulcers disfigured her body, and rendered her whole person a perfect object of horror: she was unable to move—almost to speak or to breathe, and exhibited altogether a most striking example of human misery.

In the neighbourhood of the huts we saw some of the fine reeds growing, which are used by the Indians for making their arrows. They appeared to have been planted

about the village for the convenience of furnifhing a ready fupply.

As we rode through the woods, fome large trees were pointed out to us as being a fpecies of wild cinnamon. The bark had fomewhat the flavour of that fpice, and on being broken refembled it in odour, but it was very rough and coarfe.

We reached the Johanna eftate three hours before the negroes, who had been fent round by way of the river with our boat, the journey by water having been above four hours longer than we had made it by land, notwithftanding our delay in the favanna.

Having gone to the extent of our expedition, and it only remaining to us to return down the river amidft the fame unvaried fcenery we had paffed, we became anxious to reach New Amfterdam and the fort, with as little delay as poffible, and, therefore, took an early dinner with M. Fenner in company with his party of Dutch ladies, and M. Pauels from Arends; and in the afternoon fet off for Fort-Naffau, intending to hang our ham-

mocks at Mynheer Scholten's until the morrow. But in this we were disappointed from the failure of the tide; consequently, finding at the dusk of evening, that we were not likely to reach the old town, we pursued our marooning system, and put into the first port we could make. This happened to be at the plantation Helvetia, where we were received with great kindness and civility by Mynheer Freinde. Coffee was presented on our arrival—soon afterwards the supper-board was plentifully spread; and, although unexpected intsuders, we found excellent accommodations for the night.

We did not enjoy the society of Mynheer Freinde so much as we could have wished, in consequence of our limited knowledge of his native language—yet, by means of the many good things he gave us, he made himself extremely well understood. The estate is large, and is the property of Mynheer Freinde jointly with three other gentlemen, one of whom resides in London—the two others at Amsterdam.

I might have remarked to you that at the Johanna plantation, we were this day indulged

with the luxury of having two young negroes, and an Indian girl, placed behind us waving lime boughs around our heads, the whole time of dinner, in order to keep us cool, and prevent us from being annoyed by insects, while we were eating; and, in addition to this general protection, I was farther indebted to the flattering partiality of Mynheer Fenner, for the distinguished honor of having a separate slave stationed at my elbow with an Indian fan, with express orders to keep me cool, and guard me from the musquitoes.

At Helvetia we were not troubled with insects; but in defiance of the convenience of our accommodations, some uneasy symptoms, displayed on the part of the major domo regarding an ebon nymph who had served our coffee in the afternoon, and an unhappy spirit of annoying his suspicions exhibited by one of our comrades, prevented us from sleeping, and caused us all to pass a disturbed and restless night.

We left Helvetia with the early tide, in order to breakfast at the old town; and accordingly arrived at nine o'clock at Mynheer Scholten's. During breakfast we were visited by the old fiscal, who, looking extremely humble and

abashed, begged us to believe that he felt it highly incumbent upon him to offer multitudes of apologies, for his rude behaviour on the day we had dined at his house, adding that he had been extremely afflicted, from the moment he had been told of it; and, in explanation, ascribing all his loud noise and political violence to the *levelling* bumpers he had taken of claret and Madeira. We likewise met, at breakfast, another of the oldest inhabitants of the colony, an uncle of Mynheer Scholten, whose aged and venerable figure commanded great respect for his person, while it impressed a favorable idea of the salubrity of the climate.

After satisfying the calls of appetite, we took a walk into the town, and in the course of our promenade had an opportunity of procuring a very beautiful lion monkey from one of the handsomest Indian women we had seen, and who, by signs and gestures, gave us to understand, that means might be devised, should it be very anxiously desired, to make the mistress the companion of the little animal, at our quarters at the fort.

Before noon we were again in the boat pursuing our journey down the river. Have

ing the current in our favor, we were carried rapidly on, and were enabled to make longer tides than when journeying the oppofite way. In proceeding up the river, the flaves had found it neceffary to avoid the centre, and to keep the boat as near as poffible to the fhore; but in returning, they gladly fought the middle of the channel, in order to avail themfelves of the current. As the evening ftole on, the return of tide overpowered the frefh water ftream, and, by putting a ftop to our progrefs, compelled us to feek quarters at an earlier hour than we wifhed. The plantation Daargradt being neareft, we dropped our anchor there, and, without ceremony, took up our home for the night.

Daargradt is one of the colonial eftates, and is fubject to a queftion of fequeftration; it being yet in doubt whether this plantation, together with fome others fimilarly circumftanced, may not be condemned as public property, for the benefit of the captors. The eftate is extenfive, and cultivated by a numerous gang of flaves, who are attached as the ftock of the plantation, and confequently make a part of the property. My mind anticipates the idea which fuggefts itfelf to you upon this fubject; but you will not expect that I fhould

offer comments upon the prospect of sharing *prize-money* from such a source.

The usual difficulty respecting language would have occurred to us, from the manager not knowing either English or French; but, fortunately, a gentleman I had met at Mynheer Ongre's, happened to be at Daargradt, who, with great kindness, undertook the troublesome task of interpreter; and procured for us the best accommodations of the house, as well for the evening, as throughout the night.

An old Hollander, who was living in a sort of quiet retirement upon the estate, was seized with sad feelings of alarm at our arrival. Seeing a party of English officers step out of the boat, so very unexpectedly, he could not divest his mind of the sentiment of danger which attaches to the approach of an enemy. He had long been an active supporter of the high democratic party in the seven United Provinces; and, on account of the state of politics, had fled from his country in the year 1787, when the Duke of Brunswick marched a Prussian army into Holland to restore the rights and privileges of the Stadtholder. A conscious feeling renewed all the poor old man's terrors,

and begat the impression that we came as foes to disturb him in his peaceful retirement. He felt that he was still adverse to the Stadtholderian interest, and, perhaps, was not aware that age had stamped an imbecility upon his political opinions, as well as caused his hoary locks to excite only sentiments of compassion. The timidity of second childhood was upon him. His years were many, and it might be said of him, as of the vieu fiscal, that the high torrent of guilt had ceased to flow in his veins. We assured him of his safety, and endeavored to assuage his fears, by observing that whatever might have been formerly, or still further, might now be his opinions, he had nothing to fear. With difficulty we did prevail upon him to take his seat at the supper table, but he could not command enough of self-possession to eat: he was agitated, looked uneasy and alarmed, fixed his eye on the scarlet uniform, and exhibited general marks of restlessness, and apprehension!—The supper-cloth was scarcely removed, when he retired—and we saw him no more. Soon after the old Batavian left us, we went to our hammocks; but passed a sad restless night, owing to our being assailed by hosts of musquitoes, whose venomous bitings wholly deprived us of sleep.

The party leave Daargradt with the morning tide, intending to proceed to Mynheer Robolofki's. Call at Effendam. Kindly detained by M. Abbenfets. Make a vifit of acknowledgment to Mynheer Schneider. Cards introduced after dinner at Effendam. Evening promenade to Sans Souci. Wretched annoyance of musquitoes. Afflicted appearance of the party. Departure from Effendam. Conclufion of the expedition. General remarks. Novelty and hofpitality. Civility an inadequate term. Mode of travelling highly commodious. Samenefs of fcenery relieved. Pellucid water of the river. Novel appearance of the foreft, the boat, &c. A floating ifland. Difficulties ideal. Infects not troublefome in the woods. A peculiar mark of politenefs.

Berbifche: 179

We rofe early, in order to make the round of the plantation and the negro yard previous to our departure, and before ten o'clock we took our feats in the boat, availing ourfelves of the early tide, with the intention of hanging our hammocks at Mynheer Robolofki's in the evening—and of proceeding on the morrow to New Amfterdam. M. Robolofki had made a vifit to the Britifh officers at the fort, and had very preffingly invited us to his plantation; which we underftood to be fituated on the oppofite bank of the river, between Mynheer Abbenfet's and the town, and very

conveniently for becoming the last place of rest upon our excursion. A little past noon we arrived at Essendam, intending to make only an *en passant* call upon Mynheer Abbensets; who received us with all the kindness and cordiality of a friend; nor would he hear of our going further, but insisted that we should pass the remainder of the day with him; and, the more effectually to reconcile the delay, he assured us that the tide would not carry us so far as M. Robolofski's by night. Finding this to be the case, we yielded to his kind solicitations: and the more readily from our knowing that the town and the fort were still within the morrow's journey; and from it having been proved to us by the test of experience, that neither shore of the river could supply us with more desirable quarters. Having agreed to pass the night at Essendam, we rested for a short time, and then made a little excursion across the river to offer thanks to M. Schneider, for the information he had given us respecting our journey; and to see the sugar works at Mr. Blair's estate. As soon as we returned, a well-served dinner with plenty of good wines were set before us; and the generous Abbensets warmly bade us welcome. It is not the custom in these colonies,

as in England, to confume the whole of the afternoon over the bottle. Wine is taken liberally at dinner-time, and the party withdraw from the table very foon after. At M. Abbenfet's, cards were introduced almoft as foon as we had dined, and we played whift until obliquity tempered the fcorching rays of the fun, when we engaged in a pleafant promenade about the plantation, and proceeded as far as *Sans Souci*, the adjoining eftate, to call on Mynheer Abbenfet's nephew.

Soon after we returned from our walk, the fupper-board was fpread, and to crown the evening, fome very fine old Hollands, and the focial pipe were introduced. You will perhaps be furprized to learn, that I was the only one who could not enjoy this part of the repaft: moft of the officers have acquired the habit of fmoking, and fome of them have become fuch adepts in this, I cannot but add, dirty and inelegant cuftom—however focial—that they can already drink gin, and whif a pipe or fagar almoft as well as any femper-fmoking Dutchman of the colony! You will probably envy them the accomplifhment as little as I do! We went to our hammocks very foon after

ſupper, hoping, by a long ſleep, to relieve the heavy fatigue of two diſturbed and reſtleſs nights; but we were ſadly diſappointed! the tormenting muſquitoes again beſieged us, and the third night proved no leſs ſleepleſs than the two preceding. The heat and itching from former bitings—the pain of new and acute punctures—and the ſtill more wearifome buzzing of the inſects in our ears combined in ſuch utter annoyance, as not only to deprive us of ſleep, but of all reſt and eaſe. Even the quiet of lying ſtill was unattainable. The irritation, cauſed by the pain and exceſſive itching, rendered us quite feveriſh, and with the wearineſs and languor ariſing from want of ſleep, made us really ill. At length, grown impatient of ſuffering, and finding it impoſſible to reſt in our hammocks, we got up, walked about the room, waſhed with cold water, rubbed ourſelves with orange juice, and with limes, then opened the windows, ſhook our hammocks, beat about the room with cloths and handkerchiefs, and tried all the various means of driving out the inſects, and obtaining relief: but in vain, all our efforts failed of ſucceſs. Immitigable torment purſued us, and we were compelled to drag out a moſt weariſome and comfortleſs night.

Early in the morning we left our room oppressed with feverish feelings, and a sense of general stupor:—and almost blind! Our eye-lids were swoln and heavy—our whole faces tumefied and inflamed. It were difficult to convey to you a just idea of our afflicted appearance. Perhaps if you call to your imagination the visage of a sot, after he has devoted two or three whole nights to the bottle; then, before he has had time to sleep off his intoxication, subject him to an attack of "St. Anthony," you may conceive a tolerable representation of the matin-countenances of your friend, and his sleepless musquito-bitten comrades.

We breakfasted with M. Abbensets, and at nine o'clock embarked for New Amsterdam. The negroes took no rest between Essendam and the town. They cheerfully pulled the oars for five hours without intermission, in order to reach the landing place before the turn of the tide; and all the relief they sought, throughout the whole of this time, was that of occasionally taking up a handful of water from the river, and pouring it upon their oars, to prevent them from becoming hot and dry, and thereby

bliſtering their hands. At two o'clock on the 23d of June we finiſhed our journey, and were again ſafely on ſhore at the government landing-place at New Amſterdam.

You will feel that the excurſion was, altogether, one of high intereſt and gratification: but I have proceeded in ſuch minute, and (I fear you will ſay) tedious detail, that very little remains to be offered by way of general remark.

The novelty which preſented itſelf to our obſervation was not more ſtriking than the unbounded hoſpitality, which univerſally met us at every place of call. Although unexpected intruders, we were every where received with a cordial urbanity, which is very inadequately expreſſed by the common term *civility*. It ſeemed to be the ſtudy of all, who ſhould moſt ſerve, and oblige us. Not ſatisfied with adminiſtering to us the beſt accommodations of the houſe, whilſt we remained with them, a generous regard for our comfort extended their liberality yet further, and they either openly, or privately, contributed to our convenience, by adding to our travelling ſupply. Porter, wine, and ſpirits, food and

fruit, and plantains for the negroes, all found their way into the boat.

Our mode of travelling was in itſelf highly commodious, and afforded many facilities. The party ſat together as comfortably as in a ſmall room on ſhore: we advanced at eaſe, and were ſcarcely ſenſible of any motion: by the awning we were protected from the ſun; and from the open windows at the ſides, we had always a ſtream of cool air. Enough of room was afforded for proviſions, wine, clothes, and all other ſtores of the journey; alſo convenient ſtowage for whatever ſpecimens we might collect. Together with theſe accommodations a ſecure harbour was found for the boat at every plantation, and our ſlaves either fed themſelves from the proviſions of the veſſel, or foraged among the negroes of the eſtates; ſo that we had no care concerning either ſervants or cattle, carriage or roads.

The variety in point of ſcenery you will have perceived was not very great, but the inanimate ſameneſs of wood and water was pleaſantly relieved by the occaſional openings of the different plantations. In ſome parts of

the river, the water was fingularly ftill and clear, and with its fylvan borders exhibited a novelty of peculiar feature. Its fmooth and lucid furface formed a perfect mirror, fo completely reflecting every thing around, that it feemed difficult to difcover how we were fupported—by what means fufpended, as it were, in the centre of fpace. At the fides of the river no line of termination could be diftinguifhed. It was not feen where the water ceafed, or where the land commenced; but the trees, on each border, being within the edge of the water, were fo diftinctly reflected as to convey the femblance of a foreft, growing upwards and downwards from the fame roots. The boat was reflected in a fimilar manner; as was likewife the unclouded canopy of the fkies. The watery medium made no impreffion upon the eye—but the open azure expanfe was feen the fame, whether we looked upwards or downwards. We feemed fufpended in the centre of a hollow globe, having the fame concave arch above and below, with an inverted and an upright foreft on either hand. At one fpot we met a fmall ifland, floating down the ftill river, with a variety of plants and fhrubs growing upon it; and from the water being invifible, the perfect reflection of

this little plantation gave it the appearance of a ſmall clump of young trees calmly moving in the midſt of ſpace, with each plant growing perpendicularly upwards and downwards, in preciſe reſemblance. If we held out a hand, or an oar over the ſide of the boat, the ſame was ſeen below, without diſcovering the limpid medium between them. In ſhort, we ſeemed only to move, like our globe itſelf, in ethereal ſpace.

The difficulties which many of the gentlemen of the colony had urged, as neceſſarily attendant upon the expedition, proved to be ideal. Scarcely did any obſtacle oppoſe itſelf to our convenience—none to our progreſs: nor until the laſt three nights had any thing occurred to interrupt the full enjoyment of the excurſion. Indeed the torment of theſe nights ſerved only as a variety, which placed in a ſtronger light the many facilities we had met with; for, amidſt the woods, and at the eſtates far up the river, we had almoſt wholly eſcaped the annoyance of inſects. Muſquitoes did not ſeem to inhabit the depths of the foreſt. In theſe parts we had alſo found the air cooler, and the land leſs heated than where it was cleared of wood, and more open.

I must not neglect to inform you of a custom which we observed to be very prevalent, it being an act of politeness which, to Europeans, seemed no less singular than novel. As a mark of attention the gentlemen of the different plantations usually accompanied us to our sleeping room, at the time of our going to bed, when, on taking their leave for the night, they concluded the compliments of the day in the following terms, viz. "S'il y a d'autre chose, Messieurs, dont vous avez besoin, il n'en faut que demander au Garçon—cela n'est pas mon affaire *." This was true West Indian complaisance. It was a branch of hospitality that was not familiar to us, being an accommodation not usually found in the list of European civilities. If your ignorance of tropical habits, and the common customs of slavery should prevent you from comprehending the extent of it, ask me, when I return to England, and I will explain it to you more fully.

Adieu.

* If there is any thing else you wish for, you need only ask the boy: that does not concern me!

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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